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Together, the 100 major state universities and land-grant colleges in the national association of such institutions enroll almost 30% of all college students in the US. A 1968 survey of the 80 predominantly white state and land-grant colleges revealed that in the 80 institutions, less than 2 of every 100 students, 1 of every 100 graduates, and 1 of every 100 faculty members are black Americans. The report's detailed case studies of 5 selected universities identify some problems faced by the institutions as well as some of the programs that offer promise for increasing educational opportunity. The institutions are the University of Alabama, Rutgers (the State University of New Jersey), the University of California at Los Angeles, Wayne State University, and Indiana University. Two conclusions are strongly suggested by the case studies: (1) black militants and radical whites in the universities appear to have little in common, and (2) the idea of a black monolith is a myth. At the 5 institutions, black militants concerned with the elimination of racial inequities expressed skepticism or outright antagonism for radical white students. Black Americans who are involved in issues of educational reform are varied in personality, philosophy and style. They are only united by discrimination experienced and by their determination to end it. Even though legal desegregation is now established, the larger problem of meaningful integration is unsolved. (WM)

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STATE UNIVERSITIES AND BLACK AMERICANS

by John Egerton

HE 000 879

SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORTING SERVICE

State Universities and Black Americans:

An Inquiry Into Desegregation and Equity for Negroes in 100 Public Universities

by John Egerton

Southern Education Reporting Service

May, 1969

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

3 Foreword

4 Introduction: "Who Shall Be Educated?"

8 The Survey: Black Americans in State Universities

24 Alabama: Six Years After "The Stand"

36 Rutgers: The Rigors of Racial Change

50 UCLA: Suburbia Meets the Urban Crisis

64 Wayne State: High Octane in Motown

78 Indiana: Looking for The Man

92 A Postscript

93 Summing Up: The Black Factor

Credits

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF STATE UNIVERSITIES
AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

OFFICE OF INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH

1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C. 20036 202 265-4919

May 10, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: The News Media

FROM: Edwin M. Crawford, Director

SUBJECT: RELEASE OF SPECIAL REPORT, STATE UNIVERSITIES AND BLACK AMERICANS, SET FOR SUNDAY, MAY 18

Enclosed is a copy of a special report, State Universities and Black Americans, which is for release on Sunday, May 18. We are mailing the report as far in advance as possible, so that you may have ample time to review it for news coverage or editorial comments.

Background information about the study as well as the purpose of this joint effort by the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, Southern Education Reporting Service and Southern Education Foundation is set forth in the foreword. With all state and land-grant universities responding, the opening section of the report provides the best available measure of institutional involvement in this major social issue. The detailed case studies of five selected universities identify some of the problems these institutions face, as well as some of the promising and productive programs underway at state universities. The concluding section gives John Egerton's personal comments and observations on the survey and his visits to the five "case study" campuses.

Association President Fred H. Harrington notes in the preface that, "it is clear from the findings of the study that even though legal desegregation is now established, the larger problem of meaningful integration remains unsolved." As President Harrington says, it is the hope of NASULGC and the other sponsoring organizations that the statistical data and case studies "will be of assistance in broadening opportunity for Negroes as students, faculty and staff members in all of the nation's colleges and universities."

If you have questions or need additional information, please call me in Washington at (202) 265-4919 or Mr. Egerton in Nashville, Tenn. (615) 291-1262.

Enclosure

FOREWORD

"State Universities and Black Americans" is the result of an effort to determine what is being done to broaden educational and professional opportunities for Negro Americans at institutions affiliated with the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. All 100 member institutions of the Association participated in the survey on which this report is based. Among them are 17 originally all-Negro colleges and universities. Until recently, they and the more than 80 other Negro institutions in the country had the major responsibility for the higher education of black Americans; the purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which the predominantly white state universities and land-grant colleges have increased their share of that responsibility.

The statistical data in the opening section of the report provide the best available measure of institutional involvement in this major social issue. The detailed case studies of five selected universities identify some of the problems these institutions face, as well as some of the programs which offer promise for increasing educational opportunity. It is clear from the findings of the study that even though legal desegregation is now established, the larger problem of meaningful integration remains unsolved.

It is hoped that the statistical data and the case studies will be of assistance in broadening opportunity for Negroes as students, faculty and staff members in all of the nation's colleges and universities.

The survey was initiated jointly by NASULGC's Committee on Educational Opportunities for Minority Groups and by the Southern Education Reporting Service of Nashville, Tenn. The Reporting Service is a non-profit agency established in 1954 by a group of Southern newspaper editors and educators to gather and publish information on school desegregation and education for minorities and low-income groups. It has gained national recognition for its objective reporting.

John Egerton, a staff writer for the Reporting Service, conducted the survey and prepared the report. Mr. Egerton spent about four months in research and writing, including a week on the campuses of each of the five universities selected as case studies. He brought to this assignment his considerable experience as a writer and educational analyst. The Office of Institutional Research at NASULGC worked closely with him in obtaining information from the member institutions of the Association and in compiling the data, but Mr. Egerton and the Reporting Service had full responsibility for the report and its conclusions. A grant to NASULGC from the S & H Foundation, Inc., was used to support the project.

The Southern Education Foundation of Atlanta, Ga., which has a continuing interest in higher educational opportunities for Negroes in the South, also provided funds to support this study, and is handling distribution of the report. The Foundation, which published Mr. Egerton's earlier report on "Higher Education for 'High Risk' Students," has made its resources available over the years to institutions and programs which are expanding educational opportunities for Negroes. Copies of the report may be obtained for $1 each from:

The Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress St., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30308

President Fred H. Harrington
of the University of Wisconsin

President of the National Association of
State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges

INTRODUCTION:

"Who Shall Be Educated?"

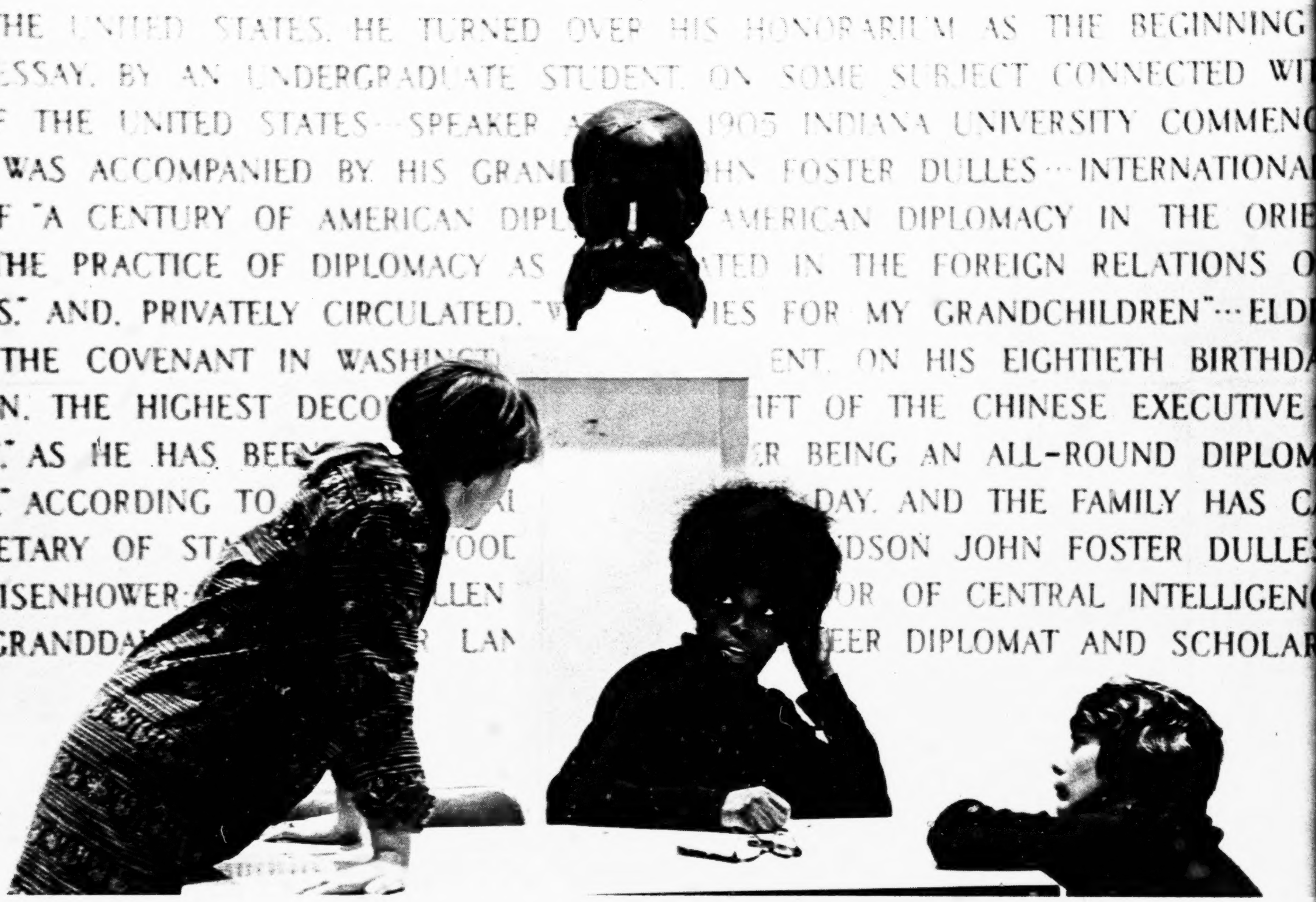
WAR AND PEACE, law and order, race and class, freedom and responsibility, quality and equality—these are familiar catch-phrases in the conversation of concerned and confused Americans these days. It is often serious, despairing, humorless conversation, and even the standard subjects—politics, religion, sex, sports and movies—more often than not lead to grim discussions of the generation gap, morality, racism, technology and taxes.

In the midst of all this, the relationship between higher education and American society has become a subject of consuming interest. In *The Academic Revolution*, Christopher Jencks and David Riesman have examined that relationship extensively and perceptively, and several other recent books have explored certain aspects of it. *The American University: How It Runs and Where It Is Going*, by Jacques Barzun, and *The Closed Corporation*, by James Ridgeway, are two of the more visible examples. And a prestigious Commission on Higher Education, funded by the Carnegie Foundation and headed by former University of California president Clark Kerr, has undertaken "to examine and make recommendations regarding the many vital issues facing higher education in the United States as we approach the year 2000."

This report—in much smaller dimensions—is also about the relationship between higher education and American society; more precisely, it is about one particular segment of higher education and its relationship to one particular segment of American society. There are 100 major state universities and land-grant colleges in the national association of such institutions, and together they enroll almost 30 per cent of all the college students in the country. There are about 23 million Negroes in the United States—slightly more than 11 per cent of our 202 million citizens. This report concerns the relationship between those state universities and black Americans.

Desegregation in higher education has received surprisingly little attention in the 15 years since legal segregation in education was outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court. The assumption that colleges and universities are liberal institutions—and therefore must have established the principle of racial equality as fact—has had wide currency, and the institutions themselves have done little to correct that assumption. Most of them have long since quit keeping records by race—if they ever started—and they have made clear their openness "to all qualified students, regardless of race."

But the few statistics available on this subject indicate that desegregation in higher education has been slight—far out of proportion to the ratio of whites to Negroes in the population. In 1967, the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office for Civil Rights made a canvass of enrollment by race in higher education—the first such comprehensive survey in many years, if not the first ever. (The federal government's annual fall enrollment survey in 1965 did request estimates of Negro enrollment, but no actual count was taken; estimates were received from 92 per cent of all institutions, and they showed 207,316 Negro students—4.5 per cent of the total enrollment of 4.5 million.) The 1967 survey was comprehensive only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in the sense that all but a very few institutions provided data; much of the information was incomplete or inaccurate. There were several reasons for this, chief among them that most colleges and universities do not keep records by race. They relied on voluntary questionnaires, visual counts, extrapolations from samples, estimates, and intuition to determine how many Negro students they had, and these methods were often unsatisfactory. Many students would not complete the voluntary forms; others regarded them lightly, and gave facetious answers. Some institutions reported undergraduate and graduate students together as one figure; others combined full-time and part-time students. The rest separated these categories of students, as the questionnaire requested.

The Office for Civil Rights has never published an analysis of that survey, but in April of 1968 the *Chronicle of Higher Education* printed the full-time, undergraduate enrollment figures by race (white, Negro and "other") from about 1,400 of the institutions which responded to the government questionnaire. According to the *Chronicle*, the Office for Civil Rights reported that a total of 4,764,834 full-time undergraduate students were identified in the survey, and that 245,410 of them—5.15 per cent—were Negroes. About 150,000 of the Negro students were enrolled in previously all-Negro colleges and universities, leaving approximately 95,000—just under 2 per cent of the nationwide total—in the institutions which traditionally have served a predominance of whites.

As crude a measurement of desegregation in higher education as the federal survey provided—based as it was on such imprecise methods of collection—it was, and is, the only such assessment available. And while the figures reported by many individual institutions may be of questionable accuracy, there is probably no reason to question seriously the overall percentages which showed that five of every 100 college students —and two of every 100 in predominantly white institutions—were Negroes. The Office for Civil Rights conducted the survey again last fall, but some institutions still have not replied, and no totals have been compiled. The problems occasioned by the widespread lack of racial record-keeping still limited the accuracy of the survey; it will not be repeated in 1969, but the Office for Civil Rights is making plans to try again in the fall of 1970.

This State University Survey suffers from many of the same limitations as the two federal efforts. The returned questionnaries show unanswered questions, errors in computation, answers based on a variety of imprecise measurements, and almost every possible combination of part-time, full-time, undergraduate, graduate, professional, main-campus and branch-campus students. Time did not permit a follow-up to clarify these ambiguities. This is a journalistic venture, not an academic one; the liberties afforded by journalistic techniques of qualification have been used generously. Every effort has been made to report all figures faithfully, as they were received, but wherever interpretation has been necessary it has been attempted and then explained. In other words, the figures reported here are admittedly not precise; they are a painstaking translation of racial statistics presented by the institutions themselves. As in the federal survey, some of the totals reported by particular universities are probably incorrect, but the overall percentages are believed to be reasonably close to the actual ratios of black students to all students in the state universities. In any event, the figures are current, and they are the only ones available on desegregation this year in the 100 institutions. It must remain for others with more precise instruments of measurement—including officials of the universities themselves—to undertake the sort of comprehensive racial inquiry which will assess how fully the higher education needs of black Americans are being met.

Another limitation of this study is semantics. The Negro, the black American, the Afro-American—none of these terms is fully satisfactory to all of the American citizens who make up this racial group. Contemporary vernacular surrounding the subject of race includes many words with imprecise or disputed meanings. Among these are integration, separatism, nationalism, coexistence, discrimination, moderate, militant, radical, revolutionary, racism, relevance, nonnegotiable, autonomous and demand. Many of these words are emotional, rhetorical or misleading; at the same time, many of them are essential, simply because they have no more descriptive alternatives. For that reason, most of them will be found in these pages.

This study was put together in a four-month period beginning in December, 1968. Because so many universities are now in ferment over racial issues, a basic goal of the study was currency; every effort has been made to present a report *in* this academic year, *about* this academic year, as up-to-date as possible. The press of time and the limitations of resources dictated the scope; it is, to repeat, a report on black Americans and state universities, not a study of minorities and higher education. How and how much the other public and private colleges and universities are involved with Negroes is fallow ground waiting for other plows—and so is the relationship of all colleges and universities to American Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, impoverished white Americans and other racial, cultural and economic minorities for whom higher education has usually been a remote and impossible dream.

The efforts of several of the nation's prestigious private universities to address racial problems have had high visibility in the press. Recruitment of Negroes at such institutions as Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Stanford has been given extensive publicity, and so have racial problems at several schools, including Chicago, Columbia, Duke and Northwestern. One impression encouraged by this press coverage is that the private institutions have achieved considerably more desegregation than the public ones. A comparison of desegregation statistics from the 1967 racial survey of the Office for Civil Rights tends to indicate that the impression is false.

A convenient comparison is afforded by the statistics from the institutions belonging to the Association of American Universities, an elite inner circle of major universities having outstanding graduate and research programs. There are 42 member institutions in the AAU. Two of them—Cornell University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—can claim both public and private status; they are essentially private universities, but also land-grant institutions. Leaving those two aside, the remaining 40 include 20 private universities and 20 major state universities which are members of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, and thus are represented in the survey which is the basis of this report. The 1967 Office for Civil Rights survey shows:

- that the 20 private AAU institutions reported 89,384 full-time, undergraduate students, of whom 1,804—2.02 per cent—were Negro Americans;
- that the 20 public AAU institutions reported 511,857 full-time, undergraduate students of whom 8,668—1.69 per cent—were Negro Americans.

The percentage of Negroes in the private institutions, then, is slightly higher—about three-tenths of 1 per cent. But the number of Negroes in the public institutions is almost five times as great—a fact which seems to indicate that large public institutions are the places where higher educational opportunity is greatest for the masses of black Americans.

Until more studies such as the one reported in these pages are made, the 1967 government canvass will remain the only indicator of the status of desegregation in private colleges and universities, public junior colleges, and public colleges and universities which do not hold membership in the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.

To gather the basic data for this report, a questionnaire was sent to the 100 member institutions of that association, requesting information on enrollment, employment and degrees awarded—by race. (The actual membership list of the association shows 111 members, but some of them are separate campuses of the same university, and are reported in this study as single institutions. The City University of New York joined the association too late to be included in this study.) All of the universities responded to the questionnaire, but many of them could not answer fully because they keep no records by race. Visits were made to five universities to get beneath the statistical surface into the more complex issues of programs, strategies and attitudes. The questionnaire and the case studies produced a stack of papers and notes four feet high, and this report is a condensed and distilled product of that material.

It has become trite to say that the relationship between white and black Americans is the most serious domestic social issue of this generation. Whites have often referred to this issue as "the Negro problem," and many blacks now point out, with justification, that this attitude is in itself an illustration of the crisis: we have a "white problem." Weary of being studied and analyzed by white researchers, many Negroes have told whites to look inwardly to their own attitudes and assumptions for clues to the causes of racial estrangement. In a sense, this study follows that advice; it is an inquiry into the ways in which white-dominated public universities are responding to the realities of racial and cultural separation in American society.

Dr. James Lewis Morrill, a man regarded as the elder statesman of the land-grant movement during his latter years as president of the University of Minnesota, expressed the philosophy of that movement in his book, *The Ongoing State University*, published in 1960. "These institutions brought education not only for men but equally for women," he wrote; "the opportunity of learning not just for a well-to-do or intellectual elite but for all who must carry the burdens of citizenship and productive service in a great and growing nation." That, he said, "has been the American answer to the question 'Who shall be educated?' "

In the era of racial segregation, the higher educational opportunities of Negro Americans were largely restricted to a small number of segregated colleges and universities concentrated in the South. But legal segregation has ended, and a large segment of black Americans who "carry the burdens of citizenship and productive service in a great and growing nation"—citizens who have been inadequately served by our colleges and universities—are raising again the question, "Who shall be educated?" It is not a question for the state universities and land-grant colleges alone to answer, but it is central to their history and traditions, and for more than 100 years they have been providing an answer to it. The question has a new and deeper significance now; this is a report on the contemporary response to it in the nation's state universities and land-grant colleges.

THE SURVEY: Black Americans in State Universities

IN NOVEMBER of 1968, a questionnaire labeled "Survey of Progress in Broadening Educational and Professional Opportunity for American Negroes at State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1968" (and hereafter called the State University Survey) was mailed to the member institutions of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. Replies were received from all 100 institutions.

Seventeen of them are colleges and universities in the Southern and border states which were created by those states to provide higher education for Negroes only. All of them are now desegregated. Their answers to the State University Survey are presented separately in this report, and none of them is among the institutions which are described in some detail as case studies. Another institution—the new Federal City College in the District of Columbia—is singled out as the newest of the land-grant schools, and as a predominantly black institution because of its location rather than its history (see page 22). The college opened last fall to about 2,000 students, over 90 per cent of whom are black Americans.

Of the other 82 institutions in the association, 80 answered at least five of the nine questions in the survey. Two institutions—the University of Hawaii and the University of Puerto Rico—answered none of the questions; they replied that they are prohibited by law from collecting statistics by race, and that in any event, the multiracial nature of their populations is such that racial designations are meaningless—if not impossible to make.

The burden of this report is the information submitted by the 80 predominantly white universities. Last fall, their enrollment of full-time and part-time students at all levels totaled almost 2 million—nearly 30 per cent of the estimated 7 million students who enrolled in the nation's 2,500 public and private colleges and universities.

Before getting into the statistics, some general explanations should be given:

- The figures on undergraduate enrollment are intended to include only full-time students in regular degree-granting programs. There is no way to be certain that the figures presented by the institutions do not include part-time students—enrollment figures from other sources indicate that some schools did combine the two categories, and where this has happened, no attempt has been made to separate them.
- Students enrolled in two-year junior colleges admin-

istered by the universities have been excluded from these tabulations wherever it was possible to identify them.

- The figures for graduate and professional schools are combined totals of full-time and part-time students in all post-baccalaureate degree programs. Some institutions did not provide such inclusive totals.
- For universities having two or more four-year, degree-granting campuses, enrollment figures have been combined and are presented here as a single set of figures. Campuses located in urban areas—such as Louisiana State University in New Orleans, the University of Massachusetts in Boston, the University of Illinois in Chicago and the University of Missouri in Kansas City—almost invariably have a higher percentage of black students than the non-urban campuses of the same schools.

The 98 universities which provided data are divided into four regional groupings:

- *The South* includes the 17 Southern and border states which once had laws enforcing segregation. All of the 17 traditionally Negro institutions are in this region, with each state except West Virginia having one such institution and Texas having two. (There are two formerly all-Negro public colleges in West Virginia—and several others elsewhere in the South—which are not members of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.) Federal City College is also in this region. Twenty-eight predominantly white state universities from this area are included in the survey, and their racial statistics are presented in a separate tabulation. The 17 states are Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.
- *The East,* which includes 11 universities in nine states: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Vermont.
- *The Midwest,* made up of 15 universities in the seven states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio and Wisconsin.
- *The West,* an area covering 16 states and including 26 universities. The states are Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

The chart below combines figures from all 98 institutions:

REPORTED ENROLLMENTS, FALL 1968

FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS, 98 INSTITUTIONS:		ALL GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL-SCHOOL STUDENTS, 92 INSTITUTIONS:*	
TOTAL	AMERICAN NEGRO	TOTAL	AMERICIAN NEGRO
1,268,185	67,309 (5.31%)	325,723	9,564 (2.94%)

*6 traditionally Negro institutions do not have graduate programs.

SURVEY OF PROGRESS IN BROADENING EDUCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICAN NEGROES AT STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES 1968

The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, with the assistance of Southern Education Reporting Service, is attempting to determine the extent to which American Negroes are represented among the staff and students of the Association's 100 member institutions. Detailed case studies of several selected institutions will constitute a major part of the total study; the questionnaire on the following page is designed to provide basic data. The findings of the case studies and the questionnaire will be published by the Association in the Spring of 1969.

You are urged to send, with the completed questionnaire, any policy statements, publications, special reports, additional statistics or other information which would help us to get a complete picture of your institution's relationship with American Negroes. Include, if possible, the following:

1. **Description of any academic programs that depart from the traditional pattern, if such programs enroll Negro students;**
2. **Information on Negro part-time students and faculty, and Negro students in non-degree, preparatory or other special programs, including Negroes enrolled in two-year programs at branch campuses or community colleges that are operated by the university;**
3. **Institutional admission requirements and exceptions to them, if pertinent to Negro enrollment;**
4. **Reports on any studies the institution has made on such subjects as attrition rates, the places from which Negro students come to the institution (in-state, out-of-state, the South, etc.), academic performance, family background, fields of study in which Negro students enroll and from which they graduate;**
5. **Analyses and evaluations of programs designed especially for Negro students;**
6. **Reports on recruitment, financial aid, athletic scholarships and housing for Negro students;**
7. **The year Negro students were first admitted to the institution, and the year they were first graduated;**
8. **A copy of the institution's 1968 compliance report to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.**

In short, we need to know as much as possible about your institution's total involvement with American Negroes. The Association believes this information will be of great value to all of its member institutions. The statistical data will provide a benchmark to measure institutional involvement; the more detailed information which you provide and the case studies which are to be conducted during the winter will give us an indication of what is being tried, what works and what problems remain in broadening higher educational opportunity for Negroes.

Name of Institution ______________________________

Campus Location(s) ______________________________

Person Completing Questionnaire ______________________________

UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

1. Full-time undergraduate enrollment, Fall 1968: ______________________________
2. American Negroes in full-time undergraduate enrollment: ______________________________
3. Negro full-time undergraduate students include: ______________________________
   a. ______________ males and ______________ females;
   b. ______________ freshmen and ______________ other undergraduates.
4. Number of AB and BS degrees awarded, academic year 1967-68:
   to all students ______________; to Negroes

GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS

5. Number of students enrolled in degree programs in all graduate and professional schools, Fall 1968:
   all students ______________ ; Negroes ______________.
6. Number of graduate and professional degrees awarded, academic year 1967-68:
   to all students ______________ ; to Negroes ______________.

FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATIVE/PROFESSIONAL STAFF

7. Number of persons holding full-time, faculty-rank positions, Fall 1968:
   total full-time faculty ______________ ; Negroes ______________.
8. Number of persons holding full-time administrative or professional positions, Fall 1968:
   total number ______________ ; Negroes ______________.
9. First appointment of Negro to full-time faculty or administrative/professional staff:
   year of appointment ______________ ; position and department ______________.

Not including the 17 previously all-Negro institutions and Federal City College, the representation of Negroes in the 80 predominantly white universities is as follows:

REPORTED ENROLLMENTS, FALL 1968

FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS, 80 INSTITUTIONS:		ALL GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL-SCHOOL STUDENTS, 80 INSTITUTIONS:	
TOTAL	AMERICAN NEGRO	TOTAL	AMERICAN NEGRO
1,222,382	23,630 (1.93%)	322,069	6,149 (1.91%)

The inclusion of students enrolled in two-year community colleges administered by these universities would have increased the total number of black students in the survey, and might have raised the percentage slightly. The State University of New York, the University of Kentucky, the University of Connecticut, Ohio State University and a few others have such campuses. Also, the inclusion of part-time undergraduate students would have added a sizable number of Negro students; particularly in the urban universities, the enrollment of Negroes as part-time students in some cases is proportionately higher than that of full-time students.

In addition to enrollment figures, the State University Survey asked for graduation figures by race, professional employment statistics by race, and identification of Negro undergraduate students by sex and academic class. Returns on these questions were not satisfactory; many institutions did not answer, and the ones which did included some whose figures were contradictory. The statistics on administrative and professional employes were too varied to be interpreted coherently; the terms "administrative and professional" apparently were too imprecise to be defined uniformly and consistently. For example, one institution reported an administrative and professional staff of more than 4,100, while another university of the same size reported only 87, and one university in the South claimed more than twice as many Negro administrative and professional employes as any other majority-white institution in the survey.

About half of the 80 predominantly white universities submitted statistics on the sex and class standing of their Negro undergraduate students. Those returns indicate that approximately 57 per cent of the students are males, and that figure coincides closely with the overall sex ratio in higher education as a whole.

The figures on freshmen are especially interesting. Nationwide, roughly 30 per cent of all undergraduates are freshmen, but the 47 predominantly white universities which answered that question in this survey reported that about 45 per cent of their black undergraduates are freshmen. That would seem to indicate that black enrollment in those institutions increased significantly this year.

All but four of the 80 universities gave figures on the number of persons holding full-time, faculty-rank positions (instructor through full professor). The figures contained several discrepancies and are not presented here institution by institution. As submitted by the universities, the statistics show a total black faculty of less than 1 per cent. With some allowance for distortion (as in the case of the Northern university claiming four times as many black faculty as any other majority-white institution in the survey), it is estimated that no more than 600 of approximately 100,000 faculty members in the 76 reporting institutions are black.

The universities also were asked to indicate the year they first appointed a Negro to a faculty post or other professional position. Of the 52 universities outside the Southern and border states, 40 answered the question; 20 of them said their first Negro appointment had been made within the past dozen years, or since about 1956.

Graduation figures by race for the 1967-68 academic year were provided by less than half of the 80 universities. Thirty-nine of them reported awarding undergraduate degrees to some 70,000 students; about 500 (0.7 per cent) were Negroes. Thirty-one of the universities indicated they awarded about 25,000 graduate and professional degrees, and Negroes received approximately 300 of them (1.2 per cent). Almost half of the 300 were awarded by the predominantly white universities in the Southern and border states, according to the figures.

A closer examination of the enrollment statistics submitted by each institution is presented now in four regional summaries.

THE SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES

Seventeen of the member institutions of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges were founded to serve Negroes. There are about 90 other traditionally Negro colleges and universities in the country, and all but four of them—two in Ohio and two in Pennsylvania—are in the Southern and border states. The 17 Negro institutions in this survey are all located in that region.

The chart on page 13 groups the 12 institutions located in the 11 states of the old Confederacy; the other five, which are in the border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Oklahoma, are listed separately. The wording of the questionnaire made it difficult for the institutions to identify their non-black students; in some instances, other ethnic groups and foreign students are included in the same totals as white students.

In addition to the data presented in the chart, these findings were produced by the State University Survey:

- Of 5,708 undergraduate degrees awarded by the 17 previously all-Negro institutions in 1967–68, all but 148 went to black Americans, and all but 15 of that total were awarded by the border-state institutions.
- Of 1,159 master's degrees awarded by the 17 institu-

tions the same year, all but 31 were received by Negroes.

- Of 2,781 full-time faculty members counted by the 17 institutions, 471—17 per cent—are whites or other non-blacks. There were very few white faculty members at those institutions 10 years ago.
- Only 11 whites and other non-blacks are reported among 478 full-time administrative and professional employes of the 17 institutions.
- Based on figures provided by 13 of the 17 schools, females make up about 55 per cent of the undergraduate enrollment of black students. For the nation as a whole, the percentage of female students is at least 10 per cent below that figure.

Prior to 1954, the public and private white colleges and universities outside the South, while not legally segregated, enrolled Negroes in only token numbers. In the 17 Southern and border states, the white colleges and universities—public and private—were almost completely segregated before 1954. (The University of Maryland was the first institution in this region to break the color bar, admitting a Negro student to its law school in 1936 after a state appeals court had ruled in the student's favor. Between then and 1963, state universities in all 17 states were officially desegregated. Three of them did so voluntarily—West Virginia in 1938, Arkansas and Delaware in 1948; the other 14 admitted Negro students under court order. Only a small number of Negro students entered these institutions in the early years of desegregation.) Higher education of Negroes prior to 1954 was almost exclusively the responsibility of the Negro institutions, and they, too, were almost totally segregated. Today these institutions still enroll a majority of all Negro undergraduates. In the border states, they also have moved further in the desegregation process than all but a handful of white colleges and universities.

One of the basic objectives of this survey is to make a crude measurement of the extent to which the predominantly white state universities of the nation have begun to assume a share of the responsibility for the higher education of black Americans. The Negro institutions have been studied from every angle by a legion of investigators over the past decade; they will be spared further scrutiny here. But the desegregation process in the rest of higher education has been almost totally ignored by scholars and journalists, and by the colleges and universities themselves; this survey is focused on that issue in the major state universities.

Enrollment by race in the 28 predominantly white Southern and border state universities in the survey is indicated in the chart on page 14. The questionnaire asked for supporting data in addition to statistics, and about half of all the 98 responding institutions supplied such information—including, in some cases, copies of their replies to the federal racial canvass. From the questionnaire and supplementary information, these general observations about the Southern and border-state schools can be made:

- Only a few of the 28 universities keep records by race; most racial figures, therefore, are estimates or approximations based on imprecise measurements.
- Most of the institutions have official policies of nondiscrimination. The notion of positive discrimination in favor of Negroes as a step to counter past discrimination against them does not seem to have much currency in the South. Some of the institutions have begun small programs of special admission, financial aid and academic assistance for students lacking the formal credentials for eligibility—Florida State University, the University of Texas, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, the University of Houston and the University of South Carolina are among them. The number of students involved in these programs is low, however, and their grades and test scores apparently do not depart significantly from the required minimums. Some universities, such as the University of Maryland, are trying to smooth the entry of Upward Bound graduates into the regular student body, but again, the number of students in these programs is low. The policy of color-blindness prevails at most of the institutions, and that policy has not caused a dramatic increase in Negro students in very many of the schools. The consequences of official nondiscrimination are reported in detail in the case study of the University of Alabama, which appears later in this report.
- Several universities reported having co-operative programs with nearby predominantly Negro institutions. Georgia Tech has a joint degree arrangement with the Atlanta University Center, Mississippi State University has a faculty lend-lease program for Mississippi Valley State College, North Carolina State University has students from Shaw University and St. Augustine's College taking courses on its campus, and the University of Tennessee is negotiating with Chattanooga City College, a two-year institution, to make it a part of the new University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. At the same time, however, the University of Tennessee has started a major expansion program at its extension center in Nashville, in spite of the fact that predominantly-Negro Tennessee A&I State University is located there, and Auburn University in Alabama is building a new branch in Montgomery, the home of Alabama State College, another predominantly Negro school. Both the Tennessee and Auburn moves led to federal court suits charging the institutions with racial discrimination; in both cases, the courts refused to block the expansion.
- An occasional curriculum change reflecting specific attention to racial studies is mentioned by some of the universities; Clemson University, for example, is developing a black history course, and the University of Texas has added a few such courses. None of the schools indicated they were moving toward black studies as a curriculum, department, major or sequence.
- A few universities, such as the University of Kentucky, have created new staff positions to co-ordinate equal opportunity matters.

REPORTED ENROLLMENTS, FALL 1968, IN 17 ORIGINALLY ALL-NEGRO STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES IN 16 SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES

NAME OF INSTITUTION	FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS		ALL GRADUATE & PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL STUDENTS	
(11 Southern States)	TOTAL	NON-BLACK	TOTAL	NON-BLACK
Alabama A&M College	1,930	6	146	30
Arkansas AM&N College	3,445	13	0	0
Florida A&M University	3,367	7	615	8
Fort Valley (Ga.) State College	1,963	1	139	0
Southern (La.) University	6,814	5	670	6
Alcorn (Miss.) A&M College	2,322	4	0	0
North Carolina A&T College	3,390	2	190	6
South Carolina State College	1,602	0	336	22
Tennessee A&I State University	4,372	6	164	0
Prairie View (Tex.) A&M College	3,576	30	482	29
Texas Southern University	3,330	12	470	30
Virginia State College	2,104	50	314	75
TOTALS	**38,215**	**136** **(0.3%)**	**3,526**	**206** **(5.8%)**
(5 Border States)				
Delaware State College	906	206	0	0
Kentucky State College	1,610	559	0	0
Maryland State College	717	83	0	0
Lincoln (Mo.) University	2,019	968	50	30
Langston (Okla.) University	1,336	41	0	0
TOTALS	**6,588**	**1,857** **(28.2%)**	**50**	**30** **(60.0%)**
GRAND TOTALS, SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES	**44,803**	**1,993** **(4.4%)**	**3,576**	**236** **(6.6%)**

REPORTED ENROLLMENTS, FALL 1968, IN 28 PREDOMINANTLY WHITE STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES IN 17 SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES

NAME OF INSTITUTION	FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS		ALL GRADUATE & PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL STUDENTS	
	TOTAL	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO
Auburn University	11,407	33	1,837	18
University of Alabama	12,570	283	2,430	25
University of Arkansas	9,426	124	1,810	22
University of Delaware	6,949	51	1,643	5
Florida State University	12,083	131	3,601	43
University of Florida	18,426	80	3,762	11
Georgia Institute of Technology	6,662	36	1,289	7
University of Georgia	14,360	72	3,292	38
University of Kentucky	11,512	102	3,117	25
Louisiana State University	19,294	828	4,151	174
University of Maryland	26,391	546	7,886	126
Mississippi State University	7,462	73	909	61
University of Mississippi	5,575	59	1,161	14
University of Missouri	28,794	750	8,151	200
North Carolina State University	8,350	150	1,915	42
University of North Carolina	17,444	302	6,511	264
Oklahoma State University	13,580	225	2,346	53
University of Oklahoma	15,639	176	4,325	7
Clemson University	6,035	59	674	7
University of South Carolina	8,699	156	1,854	18
University of Tennessee	18,545	316	6,135	118
University of Houston	13,710	420	4,012	70
Texas A&M University	12,867	92	3,040	31
Texas Technological College	16,918	83	2,116	5
University of Texas	45,407	658	6,686	68
University of Virginia	9,301	30	2,763	65
Virginia Polytechnic Institute	9,213	61	1,022	8
West Virginia University	11,630	108	3,294	27
TOTALS	**398,249**	**6,004** **(1.76%)**	**91,732**	**1,552** **(1.69%)**

- The federal questionnaire asked for the number of Negroes on athletic scholarships. Only a handful of the Southern institutions included copies of that questionnaire in their response to the State University Survey, and of the ones which did, most reported having no more than four Negro athletes. The University of Houston was a standout exception; according to its reply to the federal survey, Houston has 25 black athletes. A series of articles by Jack Olsen in *Sports Illustrated* magazine last summer charged that many colleges and universities have exploited black athletes. This aspect of desegregation in higher education is touched on only briefly in this report.

The University of South Carolina has 10 regional campuses which are two-year, low-cost, open-admission institutions. These centers are small—their combined enrollment last fall was about 3,000 students—and they appear to offer some promise of increased accessibility to higher education for students who have not had that option in the past. About 10 per cent of the students at the regional campuses are Negroes. Consistent with the reporting of statistics from all universities in this survey, the two-year campuses in South Carolina are not included in the tabulations of enrollment by race.

Louisiana State University reported the highest number of black students in the region—828 undergraduates. More than two-thirds of them are at the LSU campus in New Orleans, which has had Negro students for more than 10 years. LSU had 518 Negro students on that campus in 1964; this year's full-time, undergraduate total is 560, out of 5,900.

THE EAST

Eleven universities in nine Eastern states are reported on here. Their enrollments by race are shown in the chart on page 17. Additional information was provided by some of the institutions. Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, is the subject of a case study appearing later in this report.

The University of Connecticut has two programs which are fairly typical of the growing number of "high-risk" activities in higher education across the country. One of the Connecticut ventures is CONN-PEP, an Upward Bound-type precollege enrichment program designed to lead about 30 students a year into the university. The other program involves about 60 students in a transitional phasing-in to academic and social life at the university, and includes most of the elements characteristic of such programs—recruitment, special admission, financial aid, housing, lighter course loads, compensatory courses, tutoring, counseling, academic advising and entree into extracurricular activities. About two-thirds of the students are black. The Connecticut legislature has provided most of the funds to support these programs.

The University of Massachusetts has a special program for 126 black freshmen this year. Initiated by black students and faculty at the university, the program is funded by state, private, federal and student-government monies.

Special education projects at Cornell University have raised black enrollment there from about five to about 260 in five years. Students entering the university through these programs have had relatively good academic credentials; while a few of them have had test scores well below the university average, most have been close enough to be "marginal" rather than "high-risk" applicants, and their retention rate is about the same as that of all Cornell students. A study by the university's admissions office concludes that there is a close correlation between SAT scores and first-semester academic performance for black female students there, but little correlation at all in the same two factors for black males.

The State University of New York has four university campuses, 11 arts and sciences colleges, seven specialized colleges, two separate medical centers (in addition to one at the Buffalo university campus), six two-year agricultural and technical colleges and 31 two-year community colleges—all under a single administration. Four of the specialized colleges are on the Cornell University campus, and their enrollment figures are included in the Cornell total. The 37 two-year campuses, where 4,000 of the 73,000 students are black, are not included in the enrollment totals for SUNY reported in the chart—those figures are for the university's 20 degree-granting campuses (exclusive of the four at Cornell).

Dr. James S. Smoot, co-ordinator of special programs for SUNY, identifies two projects which encompass much of the university's effort in this area. One is called SEEK, a supplementary educational endeavor for minority and low-income students: the other is the Urban Center, which offers occupational and academic instruction. There are 12 SEEK centers and five Urban Centers in the SUNY system, and each is designed to serve a cluster of campuses. The state legislature has provided most of the funds for these programs.

In addition, there are special educational programs at several individual campuses. The SUNY College at Old Westbury opened last fall with 84 students, 10 of them black, in a pilot program of study focused on urban affairs, race and poverty. The SUNY university campus at Stony Brook began a special admissions program this year, using criteria other than high school records and standardized test scores as the prime basis of selection. Stony Brook is moving toward a goal of about 20 per cent special admissions by the early 1970's. The university campus in Buffalo, under President Martin Meyerson, a professional urban planner, is establishing ghetto outposts—called the University of the Streets—to serve a variety of purposes, including the offering of credit courses for non-matriculated students. Buffalo's 402 black undergraduates (full-time) make up the highest total on any SUNY campus, except for four community colleges in or near New York City. For the most part,

REPORTED ENROLLMENTS, FALL 1968, IN 11 STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES IN 9 EASTERN STATES

NAME OF INSTITUTION	FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS		ALL GRADUATE & PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL STUDENTS	
	TOTAL	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO
University of Connecticut	9,821	167	1,975	19
University of Maine	8,237	12	705	1
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	3,907	28	3,274	20
University of Massachusetts	16,296	336	3,107	22
University of New Hampshire	6,000	45	1,200	5
Cornell University	10,019	233	4,009	28
State University of New York	68,742	1,439	8,509	134
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey	13,826	413	5,904	175
Pennsylvania State University	21,187	375	1,447	41
University of Rhode Island	6,339	51	2,005	10
University of Vermont	4,696	7	700	1
TOTALS	**169,070**	**3,106 (1.84%)**	**32,835**	**456 (1.69%)**

SUNY covers New York state, leaving public higher education in New York City to the City University of New York—which, incidentally, is a new member of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, entering the association too late to be included in the State University Survey.

THE MIDWEST

Two of the 15 state universities in this seven-state region are reported on in some detail in case studies. The two are Indiana University and Wayne State University. A review of the State University Survey questionnaire returns and supplementary data shows in this region—as in the others—a degree of racial consciousness that varies greatly from campus to campus. Several of the Midwestern institutions have established staff positions, committees or administrative units—variously called Equal Opportunity Office, Human Relations Committee, and the like—to co-ordinate their efforts to serve minorities and the poor. There is also some evidence of "high-risk" activity, and of curriculum changes in the area of black studies.

At the University of Illinois, equal opportunity programs are under way on both the Urbana and Chicago campuses; almost 60 per cent of the black undergraduates (full-time) at the two campuses are freshmen. Records show that at Illinois—and at the University of California, the University of Michigan and several other institutions—recruitment of Negro students has turned up a large number who lacked only the money to qualify for admission, as well as others whose academic credentials did not come up to institutional requirements.

Southern Illinois University has a comparatively large black enrollment on its two main campuses, and an experimental program for "high-risk" students in East St. Louis. SIU also has a new degree program in black studies. Data submitted by Purdue University indicate that the university keeps records by race, although some of the statistics are in conflict. The University of Michigan's Opportunity Awards Program for low-income students with adequate-to-marginal credentials now assists 429 students, 361 of whom are Negroes; they make up almost half of the university's black student enrollment. And the University of Wisconsin has a comprehensive support program for about 175 students—most of them black and most of them with test scores and high school grades substantially below the university's minimum requirements.

Ten of the 15 universities in this region make up the Big Ten Conference of intercollegiate athletics. These 10 institutions show a total of 255 black students on athletic scholarships, ranging from a high of 50 at Michigan State University to a low of two at the University of Minnesota. Thirty-one of the 84 black undergraduates at the University of Iowa are on athletic scholarships, and at Iowa State University—where George Washington Carver earned his bachelor's degree in 1894—24 of the 69 black undergraduates have athletic scholarships.

About 45 per cent of the black undergraduates at nine of the Midwestern universities in the survey are freshmen. This fact, plus the identification of several scholarship programs and special activities with the name of Dr. Martin Luther King, tends to indicate that the acute race consciousness at many of these universities has been generated in the past year. Six years ago, the Big Ten universities and two other institutions in the Midwest began meeting to discuss the Negro in higher education, and in 1964 they published a document called "Blueprint for Action by Universities for Achieving Integration in Education." The document outlined 63 specific ways in which the institutions pledged themselves to attack the problems of racial inequality. The Midwestern universities in this survey have a higher percentage of Negro students than the other three regions of the country, but the percentage is nevertheless quite low (2.98), and in the Big Ten institutions, only 2.29 per cent of the undergraduates are black Americans.

THE WEST

The chart on page 20 shows enrollment by race in 26 Western state universities. The University of California at Los Angeles is the subject of a case study presented here later. Most of the Western states have sparse Negro populations, but California, Oregon, Washington, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Arizona have growing urban populations of Negroes, and universities in those states also have the largest black enrollments. Some of the states have large American Indian and Mexican-American populations, and the universities' enrollments in those states show this in varying degrees.

The University of Colorado has an equal opportunity program, the University of Oregon established one of the models upon which the Upward Bound program was based, and the University of Washington has a program of black studies and a "high-risk" program which 257 students entered last fall. There are 233 Negro freshmen at the university, and 399 black, full-time undergraduate students.

At six universities in the Western region, black athletes on scholarship make up more than 20 per cent of the total black enrollment.

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Enough information has been presented by the institutions in the State University Survey to provide a crude benchmark of their involvement in the higher education of black Americans, and from this information some tentative observations and conclusions seem in order:

- Just under 2 per cent of all the full-time, undergraduate students in the 80 predominantly white state universities and land-grant colleges in this survey are black Americans, and a similar percentage also holds

REPORTED ENROLLMENTS, FALL 1968, IN 15 STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES IN 7 MIDWESTERN STATES

NAME OF INSTITUTION	FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS		ALL GRADUATE & PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL STUDENTS	
	TOTAL	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO
University of Illinois	35,714	1,553	11,040	182
Southern Illinois University	27,132	1,688	4,754	321
Indiana University	27,364	750	11,000	300
Purdue University	22,971	390	6,980	168
Iowa State University	14,758	69	3,325	19
University of Iowa	13,183	84	6,323	44
Michigan State University	32,758	966	9,783	109
University of Michigan	20,148	546	15,089	251
Wayne State University	15,811	1,500	10,000	1,000
University of Minnesota	34,146	189	9,480	165
Kent State University	16,014	481	2,233	67
Miami University of Ohio	11,149	89	1,390	5
Ohio State University	29,516	767	5,542	139
Ohio University	15,480	619	1,479	11
University of Wisconsin	32,834	727	12,563	383
TOTALS	**348,978**	**10,418 (2.98%)**	**110,981**	**3,164 (2.85%)**

REPORTED ENROLLMENTS, FALL 1968, IN 26 STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES IN 16 WESTERN STATES

NAME OF INSTITUTION	FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS		ALL GRADUATE & PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL STUDENTS	
	TOTAL	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO
University of Alaska	1,617	21	156	2
Arizona State University	14,818	141	5,499	20
University of Arizona	14,786	152	4,978	29
University of California	65,000	1,500	30,000	500
Colorado State University	12,789	91	2,572	10
University of Colorado	15,431	208	5,914	86
University of Idaho	5,724	12	749	2
Kansas State University	10,705	157	1,865	17
University of Kansas	13,671	315	3,858	74
Montana State University	6,679	7	677	0
University of Montana	6,645	21	840	3
University of Nebraska	19,944	419	4,910	57
University of Nevada	4,335	49	763	3
New Mexico State University	6,354	80	1,009	13
University of New Mexico	9,181	96	1,485	20
North Dakota State University	5,388	6	310	5
University of North Dakota	7,927	25	1,021	5
Oregon State University	12,531	61	1,960	10
University of Oregon	9,870	145	3,194	14
South Dakota State University	5,215	0	540	2
University of South Dakota	3,512	8	938	8
University of Utah	10,000	40	2,400	12
Utah State University	6,796	30	1,238	3
University of Washington	20,344	399	7,101	43
Washington State University	10,511	86	1,421	33
University of Wyoming	6,312	33	1,123	6
TOTALS	**306,085**	**4,102 (1.34%)**	**86,521**	**977 (1.13%)**

true in the graduate and professional schools of those institutions.

- Almost half of the black students who are full-time undergraduates in these 80 universities are freshmen, apparently indicating an increase in the institutions' commitment this year to seek out and enroll Negroes.
- Less than 1 per cent of all persons holding full-time, faculty-rank positions in these institutions are black Americans.
- It is probable that less than 1 per cent of all degrees awarded by the 80 universities in 1967–68 were presented to Negroes.

The enrollment of Negroes in four-year state colleges, in junior colleges and in private colleges and universities may be enough to increase the overall percentage of Negroes in American higher education, but probably not by much. In the U. S. Office of Education study, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, published in 1966, the authors drew upon racial estimates in the 1965 college enrollment survey to conclude that in all sections of the country, Negroes make up a higher proportion of the enrollments in state colleges and in junior colleges than in state universities. The differences are slight, however, and in every case the percentages are low.

The predominantly Negro colleges and universities, as has been indicated, still enroll a majority of all Negroes in higher education, and when their numbers are added to those in other colleges and universities, the overall percentage of Negroes in college is improved. The 18 predominantly Negro state universities and land-grant colleges in this survey enroll almost twice as many black students as the 80 majority white institutions. And, there are indications that Negroes are better represented proportionately in the ranks of part-time undergraduates at some of the 80 universities than they are among full-time students.

But even when all of these circumstances are taken into consideration, the conclusion that black Americans are grossly underrepresented in higher education seems inescapable. In the campus turmoil of the past year, the impression has sometimes been conveyed that a black wave of students has swept into traditionally white higher education, and the starting lineups of many college and university athletic teams tend to confirm that impression in the minds of many people. The statistics in this report contradict that impression, at least as far as the major state universities are concerned. Only two of the 80 predominantly white universities identified here have a full-time, undergraduate enrollment of black students in excess of 5 per cent of the total (Wayne State University reports 10 per cent, Southern Illinois University reports 6 per cent). In addition to Wayne and Southern Illinois, only the University of Illinois, the University of California and the State University of New York report having more than 1,000 black students in their full-time, undergraduate enrollment—and both California and SUNY are multiple-campus institutions reporting more than 65,000 students each.

Desegregation in state universities—and in the rest of higher education—has been talked about, declared, implied and assumed to be substantial for several years. On the basis of the data presented in this report, it seems fair to conclude that desegregation in these institutions has, in fact, been largely token.

Two other recent studies give support to that conclusion. The annual survey of incoming freshmen conducted by the American Council on Education shows that 5.8 per cent of all freshmen in higher education last fall were Negroes. The reported percentage of black freshmen in public junior colleges was 4.7, in public four-year colleges was 9.8, and in public universities was 3.3. The predominantly Negro institutions are included in these tabulations. The other study, produced by the Ford Foundation, is based on racial enrollment data from a select group of public and private graduate schools of arts and sciences. According to that study, black Americans made up 1.72 per cent of the total enrollment in the graduate schools of arts and sciences in 1967–68, and 0.78 per cent of all the Ph.D.'s awarded by those institutions since 1964 went to Negroes.

It would be hazardous and foolhardy to attempt to rank the state universities according to the depth and breadth of their commitment to equal educational opportunity, and no such ranking is attempted here. However, statistics alone are not sufficient to tell the story of race and the universities, and for that reason, five institutions have been chosen for detailed case studies. The University of Alabama, Rutgers University, the University of California at Los Angeles, Wayne State University and Indiana University represent a cross-section of the 80 state universities and land-grant colleges. They are located in the South, the East, the Midwest and the West; they are in small town, big cities and suburbs; they are residential and commuter institutions; they are single-campus and multiple-campus institutions; they have large and relatively small enrollments; they are both old and new institutions; they are highly selective and relatively open; they are land-grant and non-land-grant institutions; they are relatively expensive and relatively inexpensive. The one thing they have in common is that their enrollment of black students has increased noticeably in the past few years.

Each of the five universities was visited for four or five days in December and January, and their total involvement with black Americans was scrutinized with as much care and in as much detail as time permitted. Co-operation at every campus was excellent. Files were opened, appointments were made on short notice, and people made themselves available at all hours —and they were candid. In no instance did any person decline to be interviewed. The reports were written in February and March. Some important changes have taken place since the institutions were visited; newspaper clippings and telephone conversations in April provided most of the information for a postscript which follows the case studies. ○

"A One Hundred Year Late Opportunity"

Federal City College is a low-cost, open-door institution funded by the federal government. It opened last fall with 2,000 students chosen by lot from more than 6,000 applicants. Anyone with a high school diploma or its equivalent is eligible to attend, and the tuition charge of $25 a quarter is among the lowest in the nation.

The college will offer liberal arts degrees at the associate's (two-year) and bachelor's levels, and later at the master's level. Until it opened, the only opportunity for Washingtonians to get a low-cost higher education was provided by a small and underfinanced teachers college. The city's private colleges, including predominantly Negro Howard University, have much higher tuition rates and entrance requirements, and are both financially and academically out of reach for many D. C. residents.

More than 90 per cent of FCC's students are black Americans; so are half the college's full-time faculty and two-thirds of its administrative and professional staff. For the students, financial problems are eased by the low tuition and by the availability of scholarship, loan and work-study funds. Child-care facilities are being developed for students with young children, many courses are offered at night for students who have jobs, and the location of the college in the heart of the city makes it accessible to them. In a different way, FCC is also financially attractive to the faculty; its pay scale is reported to be better than that of the private colleges in the District—and competitive in just about anybody's league.

About half of the students in the charter class are over 21 years old, and about 90 per cent are freshmen with no previous college experience. The college is using a "high pass-pass-deferred" grading system this year, allowing students whose work is unsatisfactory or who fail to complete a course to retake it without penalty.

As a new college, FCC's first year has been typically tumultuous. It is housed in temporary quarters, and they are overcrowded. Library and laboratory facilities were not ready for use on schedule. Much early planning of curriculum and policy has not stood the test of execution. There have been organizational snags and personality clashes. These are unsettling problems for a new institution, but not surprising ones. At the same time, however, some of FCC's troubles are unusual, to say the least.

To begin with, the college is under the fiscal thumb of Congress, and subject to the consequences of its whims and passions. Like any other organization or institution which must look to the Congress for its daily bread, FCC is more than casually affected when internal controversy becomes public and a senator or representative makes threatening remarks about future appropriations—as one congressman did in March when he blasted the college as "a base of operation for a bunch of loudmouthed anarchists."

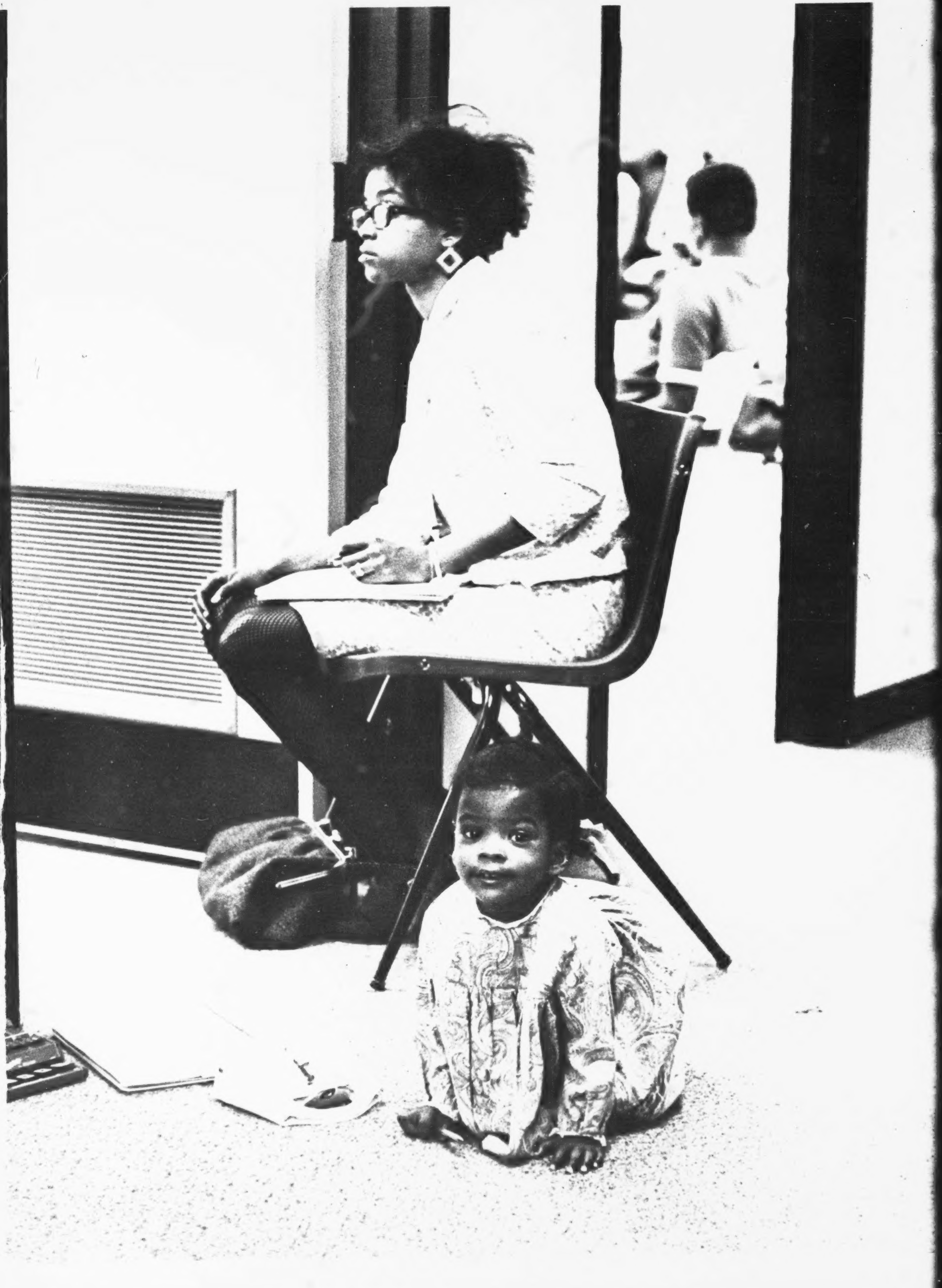
But the problem of funding, as perennially serious as it is, is less of an immediate concern than the problem of racial and ideological friction. Unlike most other institutions with racial concerns, the problems at FCC center around the faculty and administration rather than the student body. In a speech at a national meeting of university administrators last November, Provost David Dickson said the biggest problem facing the college "is the great problem of this nation—race." He praised the student body, saying most of them "are serious and earnest, sophisticated in the practical wisdom of the city" and "willing to work hard," and he quoted a senior professor as saying the students alone have exceeded his best expectations. But Dickson, who is a Negro, said "racial tension, racial suspicion, and racial polarization" have plagued the college, and by implication he placed the blame in the faculty.

The content and size of black studies as a curricular unit and the criteria for selection of new faculty members are two of the issues around which controversy has arisen, and there appears to be a clearer division between "radicals" and "traditionalists" on these issues than between blacks and whites. President Frank Farner, who is white, has avoided autocratic decision-making—and in March he was chided by a delegation of students who wanted him to assume more authority.

The personal, professional and philosophical disputes which have marked FCC's first year have almost completely overshadowed the less controversial efforts being made to establish public higher education as a new option for District of Columbia residents. It is estimated that the college will enroll 15,000 to 25,000 students by 1975. As an inexpensive, open-door college in an urban setting, its potential for service to its urban constituency has few limits.

The Student Government Association at Federal City College adopted a statement in March which indicates how welcome the college is, in spite of its early troubles:

"FCC is our opportunity, our vehicle, our resource. We hold it in the public trust for ourselves and our brothers and will pass on to our fellow students an institution of high standing. In cooperation with the college administration, faculty, staff, District Government, D. C. residents, and Congress, we intend to insure that a 100-year-late opportunity does in fact have an immediate payoff."



ALABAMA:

Six Years After "The Stand"

UNTIL 1963, THE only Negro to succeed at getting into the University of Alabama was a young woman named Autherine Lucy. She entered under a court order in 1956, and left after three days in the custody of a squad of state troopers, under a hail of rocks, eggs and obscenities.

It took an assistant attorney general of the United States, a contingent of U. S. marshals, and finally the federalization of the Alabama National Guard to get Gov. George C. Wallace to abandon his "stand in the schoolhouse door" and let two Negro students, Vivian Malone and Jimmy Hood, enter the university in June of 1963.

In the fall of 1968, the University of Alabama enrolled 308 Negro Americans as full-time students in its degree programs at all levels on three campuses. They constituted 2 per cent of the university's full-time enrollment of 15,000.

It is possible to examine the record of six years of desegregation at this 137-year-old university in the heartland of Dixie and conclude that something significant and decisive has taken place, and that the emotional crisis in race relations which so recently shook the institution to its foundations is now simply a page of shameful history.

It is also possible to look at the same record and say that the changes there have been modest, that formidable obstacles stand in the way of a sizable increase in desegregation, and that the higher education of Negroes will be a serious problem facing the University of Alabama for many years to come.

Both of these assessments may be true. But they represent different points of view—one looks to the past, the other to the future—and they are just two of many attitudes and opinions on the subject of race and the university heard there in a few days of inquiry. A search for consensus on the university's relationship with Negroes—past, present or future—seems no more promising of success than a snipe hunt in an Alabama swamp.

Even so, the university's desegregation record since 1963 provides some basis for evaluation, and discussions of that record with a small cross-section of students, faculty, administrators and others yield enough information for a tentative assessment of the university's changing relationship with black Americans.

Some of the vital statistics of that changing relationship are given in the accompanying box. They tell something of the degree to which Negroes have gained access to the university. This narrative will turn only occasionally to statistics, focusing instead on the consequences of them, and on the opinions, responses and predictions they evoke in the university.

First, though, it might be helpful to anticipate an inevitable question: How can the University of Alabama have such precise statistics on its Negro students? The answer is simple: the university keeps records by race, and has done so, with the approval of a federal court, since it first began to desegregate. Contrary to popular belief, there has never been a federal law which prohibited such record-keeping. Before the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision against school segregation, the matter of keeping records by race was not an issue; all Southern states kept such records, most other states did not. After the decision, many civil rights organizations said such records were discriminatory. The various federal education agencies apparently agreed; they stopped recording their statistics by race, and encouraged (some educators say "pressured" or "threatened") education officials in the South to do the same.

Since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, compliance officers in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare have requested (in some cases required) education and other statistics by race. The Southern states, some of which were just getting away from that practice, have had to return to it; a few of the states, as well as institutions like the University of Alabama, never discontinued it. Outside the South, many states which say they have never kept records by race are now asked for such statistics by the federal government. There are laws in some of these states which prohibit some record-keeping by race; even where there are no such laws, many institutions contend that such accounting is discriminatory, and probably impossible as well.

The result of all this has been a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding—and a very incomplete body of knowledge on the desegregation process in American higher education.

Dr. Hubert E. Mate, the University of Alabama's dean of admissions and records, can put his finger on a great variety of data on Negro students. The university's two-page application form asks for race on the second page, along with date and place of birth, sex, nationality and religious preference. "I want the racial designation on the form so we can be sure no one is rejected without cause," Mate says. He personally reviews the application of any Negro turned down by the admissions committee. A federal judge approved that practice in 1964 after it was challenged in court by a Negro applicant. "Every qualified Negro who has applied to the university since desegregation began has been admitted," the dean says. "The federal court rulings which opened this institution to Negroes allowed us to support a moral position we have held all along."

Because race is indicated on the application form, Mate can tell how many Negroes apply, how many are accepted and how many actually enroll each term. He can also show admission figures by race for several categories of students: freshmen, transfer students, graduate students and others. Last fall, an administrator in another office of the university wanted to know how many Negro students who were accepted for admission did not enroll. Mate provided the names and addresses of the 14 students in that category, and the administrator wrote to each one, asking why he had not enrolled.

The availability of all this information about Negro students at the University of Alabama does not eliminate all the misconceptions about desegregation there—you can find people on the campus and elsewhere who think the number of Negroes is much higher, and others who think the number is lower. But the record is there, and it permits an assessment of desegregation that many other universities, lately concerned about their response to Negroes, must envy.

Dean Mate can turn to the files to support his contention that no qualified Negro has been denied admission since desegregation began. To understand what "qualified" means in this context, it is necessary to examine the university's flexible requirements for admission.

High-school grade-point averages and scores on the American College Test (ACT) are the primary determinants of admission eligibility, but other factors, such as rank-in-class, grades in particular subjects, trends in grades and principals' recommendations, also are considered. About one-third of all applications are handled routinely. These involve the automatic admission of students with ACT scores of 25 or higher and grade averages of C or better, and the automatic rejection of students with ACT scores below 16 and grade averages below C. These cutoffs may change slightly from year to year, depending in large part upon the performance of freshmen admitted the previous year.

Since two-thirds of those who seek admission to the freshman class are not affected by these automatic decisions, their applications are reviewed individually by Dean Mate and his staff, working closely with the university's admissions committee. In these considerations there is considerable flexibility. A student whose ACT score is, say, 22, would probably be approved even if his high school grades averaged below a C; so might another student with a strong B average and an ACT score of only 15. Furthermore, reconsideration of admissions decisions is often given on the basis of a retaking of the ACT or a final report on a student's grades in his last semester of high school.

This year's freshman class at the university averaged 23.7 on the ACT; this means that the average freshman there ranked at about the 70th percentile among all college-bound high school seniors in the nation. At the same time, the Alabama freshmen included some whose ACT scores placed them near the bottom 10 per cent of all college-bound seniors. "We want to give every student who can reasonably be expected to succeed a chance to prove it," says Mate. "We will accept any student who we feel can make at least

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Opened to students in 1831 at Tuscaloosa. Controlled by a board of trustees made up of the Governor and the State Superintendent of Education (ex-officio) and 10 other members elected by the board itself for 12-year terms, with each elected member eligible for re-election. Dr. Frank A. Rose has been president of the university since 1958.

The main campus in Tuscaloosa now has colleges of Arts and Sciences, Commerce and Business Administration, Education, and Engineering; schools of Home Economics, Law, Mines, and Social Work; an Extension Division, and a Graduate School. The university's branch campus in Birmingham includes the Medical College of Alabama, schools of Dentistry, Nursing, and Health Services Administration, a Technical Institute for Health Occupations, and a College of General Studies. The branch campus in Huntsville has undergraduate and graduate programs and a Research Institute.

There are about 15,000 full-time students enrolled in all units of the university; about 6,000 additional students attend part-time. About half of the more than 12,000 students on the Tuscaloosa campus live on the campus; almost all of the students in Birmingham and Huntsville are commuters. Estimated total cost for two semesters of full-time study is $1,350 for Alabama residents; out-of-state students pay an additional fee of $425. Almost 90 per cent of the university's students are from Alabama.

In addition to the University of Alabama, the state's other public institutions of higher learning are Auburn University, created as the land-grant institution for whites, Alabama A & M, created as the land-grant institution for Negroes, the University of South Alabama, six other four-year institutions, and 15 two-year community colleges.

Alabama's population of about 3.3 million is approximately 30 per cent Negro.

a C average here." There is also some flexibility in the admission of transfer and graduate students.

At the Birmingham and Huntsville campuses, the same admissions policies are in force. Each campus has its own admissions committee; interpretation of the policies, therefore, tends to vary slightly, being somewhat more flexible at the College of General Studies in Birmingham and a bit less so in Huntsville.

Admission to the University of Alabama, in short, is moderately selective; the university is not an "open-door" institution, but it is more open and less exclusive than a great many state universities. All of the Negro students who have entered Alabama thus far have passed through this same process. There is no evidence that a different set of standards—either higher or lower—has been applied to them, and Negro students in the university make no claims to the contrary.

The university's response to desegregation has been scrupulously nonpartisan. It has made financial assistance available on a nondiscriminatory basis, it has sent representatives on visits to high schools wherever these visits have been requested, it has made tutorial services and remedial instruction in English and mathematics available to any students who need them. Students at neighboring colleges, both Negro and white, have been permitted to enroll in certain courses at the university. No special admission programs have been initiated for prospective students, black or white, whose credentials fall below the maximum.

Tradition assures, at least for the present, that this posture of strict nondiscrimination will accrue to the benefit of the white student. The university, after all, served whites exclusively for more than 130 years, and they can be expected to respond to its openness more quickly than prospective Negro students for whom the university is a new option. The closest Alabama has come to giving an advantage to Negroes is a logical outcome of its color-blind policy: it gives equal consideration to high school grade-point averages, even though the quality of most all-Negro high schools in the state is lower.

The policy of color-blindness, in a state where rear-guard action against desegregation is very much in evidence, has given the University of Alabama a reputation of liberalism that is probably not exceeded by any other institution in the state. The university has almost twice as many Negro students as any other predominantly white college or university in Alabama. Over 12 per cent of the full-time students at UA's College of General Studies in Birmingham are Negro. The School of Nursing, also in Birmingham, has a Negro enrollment of almost 10 per cent. The first desegregation of housing in Tuscaloosa was by students in rooms and apartments around the campus. All of these things, viewed in the historical context of race relations in Alabama, add up to a measurable change in a few years' time.

To view this change more closely and assess its possible consequences for the future, the three campuses of the university should be considered separately. Huntsville, the smallest of the three, has 961 full-time students, only eight of whom are Negro. The state's predominantly Negro land-grant institution, Alabama A & M College, is also in Huntsville; it has about 2,100 students, 15 of whom are white. In addition, a church-related college for Negroes—Oakwood College—is located there. The standards for admission are substantially higher at the university campus than at the two colleges. The institutions are not totally separate from one another, however. Students at all three campuses have common library privileges, there is some crossover of professors for certain courses, and the institutions co-operate in program planning.

The future of desegregation at the University of Alabama's Huntsville campus cannot be considered apart from the future of Alabama A & M. The ultimate question is whether the state can continue indefinitely to maintain two public institutions—one mostly white, the other almost all-Negro—in the same city. That question is discussed informally in Huntsville, but there are no outward signs that anything more than informal discussion of the matter is taking place now.

The University of Alabama in Birmingham has been built from the top down. An extension center was opened there in 1936. In the 1940's a medical school was founded; since then, dentistry, nursing, hospitals and clinics, health services administration and a technical institute for health occupations have been added. In 1966, the extension center was renamed the College of General Studies and united with the medical complex, forming a university campus that now offers instruction at all levels.

The professional schools there are primarily residential programs for full-time students. They have together about 1,500 students, including some Negroes (35 of 340 in nursing, 4 of 335 in medicine). The various programs which train people for technical and para-professional jobs in the health industry also are desegregated, and are attracting a growing number of Negroes.

The College of General Studies is a commuter college with more than twice as many more part-time than full-time students. Of the full-time students, 146 of 1,128 are Negroes. The college has had degree-granting status for only three years, and has not yet graduated its first class. Its newness, its urban location, its non-resident enrollment and its flexible admission standards have moved desegregation at a more rapid pace than at Tuscaloosa or Huntsville. White and Negro students in the Birmingham area have a wide choice of post-high-school opportunities, from trade school to the university, and the College of General Studies is expected to attract a large share of those students.

"We came along after most of the heat had gone out of the desegregation issue," says the dean of the college, Dr. George W. Campbell, "so segregation has not been one of our problems." Campbell describes the university's Birmingham complex as "a rapidly expanding urban institution which must by definition concern itself with its immediate environment. We want to serve this metropolitan area." About 35 per cent of the area population is Negro, and the College of General Studies is making a conscious effort to relate to the particular needs of the Negro community. It has an area advisory committee which is all black, it is actively recruiting Negro students and faculty, it is establishing close ties with predominantly Negro Miles College, and it has a wide range of instructional programs for both full-time and part-time students.

John Munro, the former Harvard dean who now teaches at Miles, says the University of Alabama in Birmingham is "an open, helpful, integrated institution that is going to help this town a great deal." Munro is serving as a consultant to the university in its attempts to increase the effectiveness of several programs for the urban poor. As Dean Campbell puts it, "This institution can simply grind up the disadvantaged student and spit him out, or it can change to meet his needs. We want to do the latter, and Munro is helping us to find the best ways to do it." Munro says the university and Miles are complementary rather than competitive: "We work together well. There will be plenty for both of us to do here for a long, long time to come."

For the students in the College of General Studies, desegregation has apparently been speeded by several factors. For one thing, the institution is new. "We started as an integrated school," says Glen Nunnally, president of the Student Government Association, "so we didn't have to change anything." The college is also a commuter school, many of its students have jobs, and there are no social fraternities or intercollegiate athletic teams. There is a national service fraternity, Alpha Phi Omega, and it has both white and Negro members. Fraternities and sororities, dormitories and athletic teams will be added later, and Nunnally says, "They'll be integrated too."

The vice-president of SGA is Jerome Calhoun, a Negro, who was elected last October in a run-off against a white opponent. Carl Bandy, business manager of the student newspaper, also is a Negro. Noting that there is no separate organization of black students on the campus, he says: "We don't see the need for it yet. There are no real issues to chew on. We'd rather have full equality without having to demand it, and so far, it hasn't been necessary. This could be a model institution."

The University of Alabama in Birmingham expects to grow rapidly over the next few years, perhaps eventually becoming larger than the main campus in Tuscaloosa. As it grows, its potential for serving the black urban community should increase at an even faster rate. Dr. Joseph F. Volker, who came to Birmingham in 1948 as the first dean of the School of Dentistry, now is executive vice president in charge of the University of Alabama's entire Birmingham program. In his view, the Negro's future there is very bright. "The best and easiest place to get desegregation in higher education is in the urban university," he says.

For the present, however, the main body of the University of Alabama is in Tuscaloosa; that is where the top administration, most of the students, the football team and almost all of the history and traditions of the university are. Much that has been said here earlier about admissions policies and the university's color-blind approach to the race question applies especially to the main campus. The theory and practice of nondiscrimination there have produced a mixture of results, and they are assessed in a variety of ways by different segments of the university community. Some notion of just how mixed the results have been can be gained from a look at such scattered bits of information as these:

- Just over 1 per cent of the student body is black; there are no black faculty members, no black students in fraternities or sororities, none playing intercollegiate athletics, none in the law school. Only about a dozen Negroes are enrolled in graduate programs outside the College of Education. The number of Negro freshmen is increasing very slowly (there were 52 this year), and the attrition rate among Negro freshmen is higher than the rate for all freshmen.

- A handful of white and Negro students room together in the dormitories, and a few Negro students live in off-campus housing that once was segregated. The Afro-American Association, an organization of black students, filed a court suit to block all off-campus housing segregation. The university has a policy of not listing off-campus housing unless it is open to all students. The Student Government Association considered passing an open-housing resolution, but when it was suggested that it include fraternities, the idea was dropped.

- Organizations such as the student government, the newspaper and the yearbook staff have very little involvement of blacks. The Association of Women Students, a kind of female SGA, has formed a committee on racism.

- Almost all of the black students belong to the Afro-American Association. Activist groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society, Young Americans for Freedom, Southern Students Organizing Committee and the Democratic Students Organization, a local group, are virtually all-white. In the estimate of almost everyone who was asked, the black students cannot be characterized as militant. On a couple of occasions they have held peaceful marches and demonstrations to air grievances about the low number of black students, the absence of black faculty members and athletes, the lack of courses related to blacks in America and the persistence of discrimination in off-campus housing. Few whites have identified themselves with these grievances. The major issues of student interest currently appear to be the war, the draft, drugs, restrictions on outside speakers

NEGROES AT ALABAMA

A federal court ordered the university to admit its first Negro student, Autherine Lucy, in February, 1956. Demonstrations against her presence led to a riot, and Miss Lucy was rescued from a classroom building by state troopers. She accused the university of complicity in the demonstrations, but was unable to sustain the charge in court, and was expelled by the trustees.

No Negroes entered the university again until June, 1963, when a federal court ordered the admission of three students. Gov. George C. Wallace, fulfilling an inaugural-address pledge to "stand in the schoolhouse door" to block desegregation, stood at the entrance to Foster Auditorium and denied admission to Assistant U. S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and two of the students. President John F. Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard, and Wallace stepped aside. One of the students, Vivian Malone, later became the first Negro to receive a degree from the university when she was graduated in May, 1965.

During the 1967-68 academic year, the university awarded 4 bachelor's degrees, 22 master's degrees and 2 doctor's degrees to Negroes, all at the Tuscaloosa campus. All of the master's degrees and one of the two doctorates were in Education.

In the fall of 1968, the university's full-time enrollment of approximately 15,000 students included 308 Negroes—2 per cent of the total. About 65 others were part-time students at Tuscaloosa and Huntsville, and an undetermined number attended part-time at the Birmingham campus. The Negro students enrolled full-time included 145 in Tuscaloosa, 155 in Birmingham and 8 in Huntsville. Other statistics on the Negro full-time students:

- 127 males, 181 females
- 303 from Alabama, 5 from out-of-state
- 283 undergraduates (including 108 freshmen), 21 graduate students, 4 medical students (none in dentistry, none in law)
- 135 receiving financial assistance from the university (none on athletic scholarship)

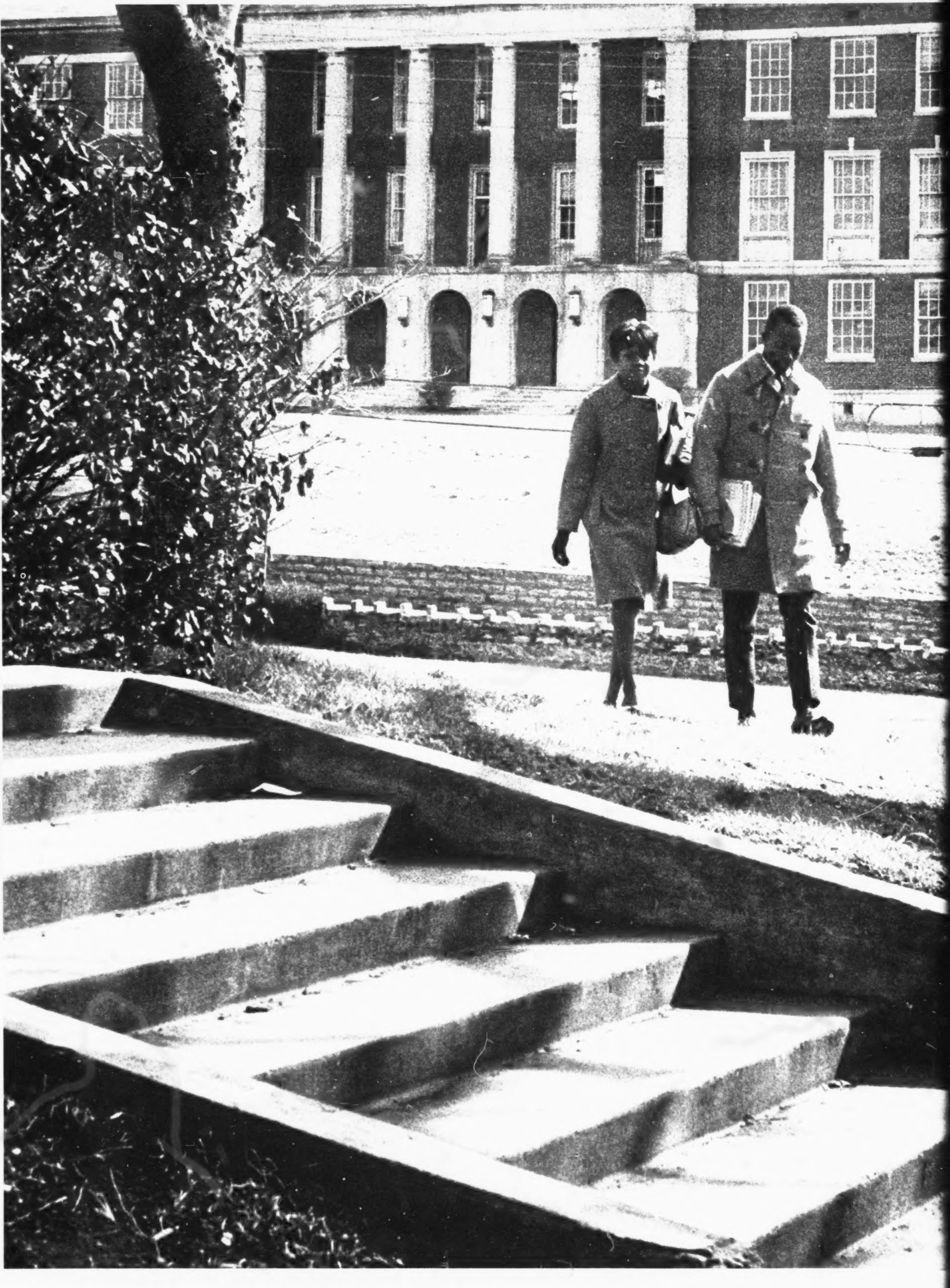
About one-third of the Negro students who entered the university as freshmen in 1967 either failed, transferred or dropped out and did not return in the fall of 1968; for the rest of the university's freshman class, the attrition rate for the same period was about 25 per cent.

A large majority of the Negro undergraduate students at the university are in Arts and Sciences, particularly in the social sciences. Nursing is also a popular field: almost 10 per cent of the School of Nursing's 375 full-time undergraduate students are Negroes.

Negro part-time students outnumber full-time students by more than three to one in the university's graduate programs. A majority of Negro graduate students are in Education.

The four Negroes who received undergraduate degrees in 1967-68 were the first to earn baccalaureate degrees since Vivian Malone in 1965. The four included two in the social sciences, one in the natural sciences and one in mathematics. No undergraduate degrees have yet been awarded to Negroes by the colleges of Education, Commerce and Business Administration, or Engineering.

There are three Negro faculty members at the university's Birmingham campus, none at the other two campuses. At the Tuscaloosa campus, there is one Negro administrator in the student affairs division; he holds a joint appointment with the university and Stillman College, a Negro institution in Tuscaloosa.



and the conduct of the local police and courts. Most black students have steered clear of these issues while the white students fight them out with the administration and among themselves. "The moderate student here is so antagonistic toward the radical left student that the racial issues have been pushed aside," said one student.

- Three new courses—in history, literature and religion—have been added to the curriculum as a result of the Afro-American Association's call for courses which focus on the black experience. If there is general faculty interest in making the university more inclusive of Negroes, it is not noticeable in casual conversation. Some administrators and students say the faculty senate and other academic groups have been cool to the notion of recruiting black faculty (and a few faculty members say the only serious attempt to hire a Negro professor was discouraged in the administration).
- A group of black women students is planning a chapter of a Negro national sorority, and other such social organizations are being discussed. Two Negro girls went out for rush last fall, but were not invited to pledge by any of the white sororities.
- The College of Education has no courses or internship programs related to the teaching of minorities, the poor or the culturally different.
- A sizable number of Negro students participate in the programs and services of some campus religious centers—more than in any other biracial campus activity.
- The Confederate flag still waves at football games, and the band still plays "Dixie"—a resolution passed by the Alabama legislature requires it.

These items, both important and incidental, underscore the basic reality of desegregation on the Tuscaloosa campus: segregation is almost gone, but integration has not arrived. Larry T. McGehee, executive assistant to President Frank A. Rose, says "Negroes are now *in* the university, but they are not yet *of* it." He adds:

"We are past the corporate issue, we have complied with the law, and now we face the personal issue, the matter of attitudes. The old stereotypes are all breaking down; people are discovering that there are Negroes, *plural,* whites, *plural,* attitudes, *plural.* It's a whole new world. I frankly don't know whether we can move from desegregation to integration. It depends on so many things—the response among whites, the black separatist movement, the continuance of race as a live issue. Right now, there's not much drama. The Theatre of 1963 is gone. There are only monologues now, and little one-act plays. The issues are changing; the urgency and drama of the civil rights era are just about over."

That view appears to be supported by two studies of student attitudes about desegregation at the university. Dr. Donal E. Muir, a sociologist at the university, conducted the two studies with some of his colleagues in April, 1963, and in November, 1966. They questioned a representative sample of 676 students the first time and 871 three years later, seeking attitudes toward Negroes and desegregation. Reporting on the studies in the Summer 1968 issue of *Phylon*, Muir said, "It seems safe to conclude that the University of Alabama student body is not a hotbed of liberalism, but is increasingly adopting attitudes compatible with integration."

His studies showed a consistent trend away from segregationist attitudes, and Muir believes the trend has continued in the past two years. But the pace, he says, could hardly be called spectacular, and he says the university "has done nothing to show that it either favors or opposes integration. The official policy is, 'We don't discriminate.'"

Many faculty members and administrators—and if the Muir survey is any indication, a majority of the students as well—believe this is the best policy for the university. There are, of course, some who feel the university has moved too far too fast, and others who think it has done far too little. The nearest thing to a consensus seems to revolve around one point: for a variety of reasons, race as a distinct issue is no longer a momentous preoccupation.

The race issue is dying at Alabama because black students are now there in sufficient numbers to erase the novelty of their presence. It is dying because white students on the right are becoming resigned to the inevitability of desegregation, those in the middle approve of gradualism, and those on the left have turned to other issues. It is dying because the university has already moved out ahead of the community, the state, the alumni and the parents, and because the administration, sensing this, is convinced it can move no faster. The race issue is dying because the faculty, like most faculties, tends to approach such matters theoretically, abstractly, philosophically, academically. And it is dying because the black students at Alabama lack the time, the numbers, the influence and the militancy to keep it alive.

These general conclusions surface quickly in conversations across the campus. Here is a sampling of comment:

Joe Espy, president of the Student Government Association: "The university has done a real good job of integrating. It's no problem here now. I think most students don't pay any particular attention to the presence of Negroes here. Everybody should be treated just the same." Espy was elected this year in a student expression of dissatisfaction with the more liberal leadership which previously controlled student government.

Dr. F. David Matthews, executive vice president of the university: "The history of public universities is a history of responding to the public they serve. One of the functions of the state university is to anticipate and help alleviate the great problems faced by society, and this includes economic, social and racial problems. When these problems are defined and presented in a larger context, things can be accomplished, but if they are presented more bluntly as race issues, or poverty issues, they won't get public support. The significant thing is the university's will-

**"Desegregation, or integration,
is not a big issue here now—
the issues are things like
the university's restrictions
on outside speakers
and its institutional racism,
its exploitation
of blacks and the poor
beyond the campus.
You hear plenty of talk
about the war in Vietnam . . .
but nobody talks
about the university's
educational responsibility
to blacks,
and because nobody is pushing,
nothing much is happening."**

ingness to look at the total problems of society, such as economic and social transition."

The Rev. Emmett Gribbin, Episcopal campus chaplain: "The administration of the university has been essentially sound all the way through the desegregation period, though it didn't move until it was compelled to. I think they were glad to be compelled, and they have tried very hard to do as well as possible. Acceptance of Negroes is widespread now, but the Negro students don't mix much in the life of the university, partly because they don't want to, partly because they have not been made totally welcome. Integration is not an accomplished fact. 'Live and let live' is the prevailing attitude among students. Most of the faculty is liberal, but abstractly so. We don't have an ideal situation, but it's improving. There's still a long way to go, though, and the impetus seems to be slacking."

Sarah L. Healy, associate dean for student development: "There have been many very real changes, both legal and attitudinal, in the area of civil rights, and every year we see more progress. Many students who are involved don't see it reflected in their lives at home. The university is ahead of Tuscaloosa and ahead of the state on this matter. I think we're on the right track and moving at more or less the right pace. Segregation in housing, both on and off the campus, is breaking down, and it will break down in sororities and fraternities, though it hasn't yet. Contact between white and black students is still limited, and we haven't tried to force it, but I think you'll find that we're not just standing still."

Dr. Joseph D. Bettis, chairman of the Department of Religion: "We've managed to desegregate to some extent, but we've done it without solving any of our fundamental social problems. There has been change, but not progress—there's a distinction. The words have changed; now we're more subtle and sophisticated about race. There are no biracial groups on campus, and there is no real willingness to face the basic inequities that exist. I don't think the university deserves any special credit for what it's done. It has obeyed the law, but it hasn't gone beyond opening some of the doors, and in some areas—football and the faculty, for example—it hasn't even done that."

Newman Strawbridge, secretary of SGA and a member of the liberal Democratic Students Organization: "This is a beer-drinking, fraternity-and-football campus. There's not very much understanding or concern about political and social problems. Most of the students are conservative, and the extent of their involvement is to react against the radicals and the groups like Students for a Democratic Society. SDS is more exhibitionist than anything else—they want confrontation and publicity. The students I would call radical are fewer than 100, including two or three blacks; we're not very radical, except by comparison with the majority of students. Desegregation, or integration, is not a big issue here now—the issues are things like the university's restrictions on outside speakers and its institutional racism, its exploitation of blacks and the poor beyond the campus. You hear plenty of talk about the war in Vietnam, about drugs and the draft and the local police and courts, but nobody talks about the university's educational responsibility to blacks, and because nobody is pushing, nothing much is happening." Strawbridge was the only winner in this year's student elections who is identified with the radical minority of students.

Willie Rice, a 20-year-old junior from Tuscaloosa and a member of the Afro-American Association: "I was in the third grade when Autherine Lucy was run out of here, and I made up my mind then that I was coming to the university. I thought I'd be the first Negro, but I wasn't. Things have changed since then. But it's not significant change. There are still no black athletes, no recruitment of top Negro students, no special scholarships, no blacks on the faculty. It has taken pressure from the black students to get a few new courses in the curriculum, and we had to file suit against a local realtor for discrimination in off-campus housing. On campus, blacks and whites don't room together in the dorms, except in a very few cases, and the fraternities and sororities are locked up tight. It'll take more pressure by the black students to get the university to really open up. So far, it's been just tokenism. Most of the black students are pretty moderate. They're above-average kids with good high school grades, and they work hard, they've got a lot of drive and determination. A lot of them have jobs, and some of them are the first in their family to get a college education. They're here for academic reasons—the social side of the university is closed to them. That's why some of the black students want their own fraternities and sororities. We get called militants and extremists when we push for our rights, and when we quit pushing and stick to ourselves, we're called separatists. Either way, the white man still calls the shots. That's what racism is all about."

Ralph Knowles, a 24-year-old law student and a former president of SGA: "Most of the white students here think they're doing something nice for Negroes. They're friendly—or at least not hostile—but they don't accept Negroes as equals. A growing minority has learned enough to overcome racial hangups. There are perhaps 500 white students who are conscious of wrongs here. They're in varying stages of awareness and understanding, but they're going to do something. None of them advocate taking over buildings—let alone burn them down—they're just trying to bring about change in the system, not on the race issue alone, but on other things too. The problem is, that kind of change takes time. The university has desegregated, except for Greeks and athletics, and that will come, too. It will keep increasing right along. We may work out our race problems—we could—but it takes too long. The pattern elsewhere is that reaction and violence come first. I think President Rose and the others have tried to make this a truly integrated university. They haven't been blatant, they've tried not to antagonize the legislature, but they haven't really pushed as much as they could have and should have."

These comments from across the Tuscaloosa campus are by no means representative of all the diverse opinions the race question evokes there, but they are sufficient to show that the response to black Americans at the University of Alabama is quite different now than it was in the days when Autherine Lucy and Vivian Malone and Jimmy Hood challenged the color bar. In those days, you didn't need a program to tell the players. There were only two teams—one defending segregation, the other attacking it—and neutrality in that conflict was virtually impossible.

When Miss Malone got into the university and stayed on to graduate, the issue of segregation vs. desegregation was finally settled in favor of the latter. Since then, Alabama has admitted a larger percentage (and in some cases a larger number) of Negroes to its student body than many large Northern universities and most of the other state universities of the South. It has done this by adhering to a position of strict nondiscrimination—in a state where the body of segregation is still warm. The university has declared itself to be color-blind, and in so doing has managed to end segregation without seriously alienating any of its publics, white or black, conservative or liberal.

If the story ended there, the University of Alabama could be credited with a remarkable accomplishment. Its trustees and administrators, responding to a federal court directive, have opened the university to Negro students. The administration, in particular, has carefully and consciously attempted to erase discrimination, and it has been aided in this effort by influential white students, by a few faculty members and especially by the black students themselves. Considering the enmity and ill-will which lingered in the aftermath of Governor Wallace's defiant stand six years ago, the university's desegregation record is notable.

But the story, of course, does not end there. Desegregation is a process, not an end in itself, and the process which began with Vivian Malone is not complete. It has been noted here that many people at the University of Alabama believe race is not a burning issue there now. Some of them make that observation with obvious relief, others with satisfaction or with resignation, others with dismay or frustration or anger. Their consensus is only in the present tense; they have widely differing opinions about what has gone on in the past six years, and about what is likely to take place in the future. From these divergent opinions, some factors emerge which seem likely to influence the university's future relationship with the

Negro citizens of Alabama:

- Except at the Birmingham campus, the percentage of Negro students at the university is quite small, and the increase in numbers each year is not sufficient to increase the percentage very much. There is disagreement on how much that picture will change. Some people think the numbers of Negroes will increase more rapidly when word of the university's accessibility spreads and when the nationally ranked football team is desegregated; others say admissions requirements and rising costs will have the effect of imposing a low ceiling on Negro enrollment.

- There are about a dozen Negro colleges in the state, with combined enrollments of more than 10,000 students. Desegregation of the white institutions is too recent a development to say with certainty what ultimate effect it will have on the black colleges, but one ironic possibility is that it will force many of them into an unequal competition for black students and faculty. The larger and richer white universities of the South, in order to achieve some measure of desegregation, are entering now into a market for black students and faculty that Northern universities have been tapping for several years, and the consequences of that for the Negro colleges are not encouraging.

- Negroes make up about 30 per cent of Alabama's population. What is more, they now constitute about one-third of the state's high school seniors, whereas in 1940 they made up less than 12 per cent of high school seniors in the state. The percentage of Negroes staying in school through the 12th grade is more than four times higher than it was 30 years ago. This dramatic increase in the percentage of potentially college-eligible Negro students means that the number of Negro high school seniors in Alabama now is about seven times as high as it was in 1940, even though the Negro population of the state has remained virtually the same during that 29-year period.

- Negroes entering the University of Alabama have encountered the official policy of nondiscrimination and an unofficial practice of exclusion, especially in the social sphere. Both the policy and the practice cause problems. Black students contend that the policy requires them to "be white" in order to belong. "Their idea of change is to let us be like them," said one student. Yet, even the students willing to pay that price are still excluded from fraternities and sororities. Many black students see the color-blind policy as evidence of tolerance but not acceptance, and the practice of exclusion convinces them further that the university is not committed to the principles of equal opportunity. For these and other reasons, the black students tend to stick to themselves—and many whites, as a result, read this as black separatism.

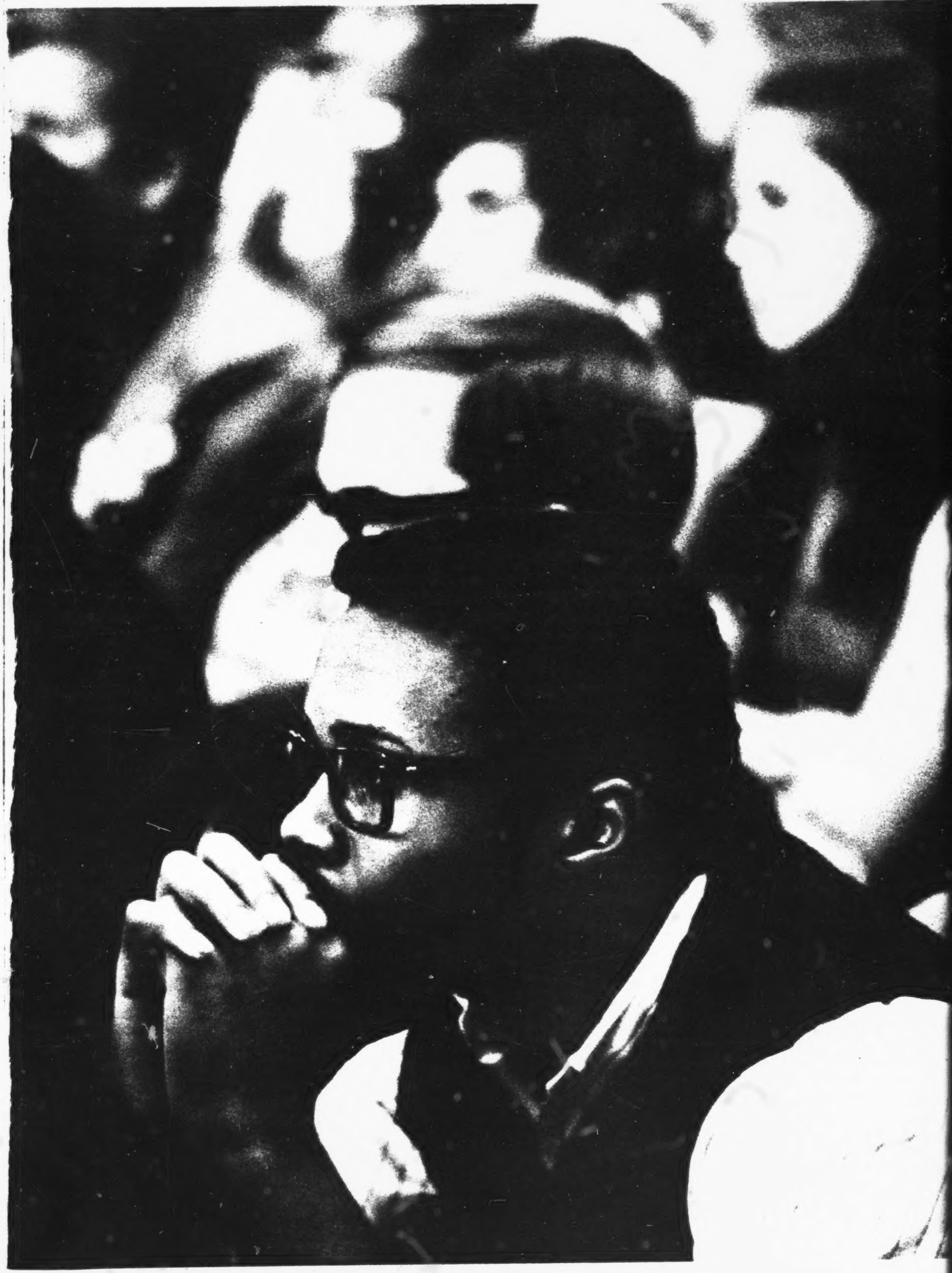
- The black students say more changes are needed in the curriculum, not just for their benefit but for the white students as well. Many whites are unconsciously racist, they say, because they lack the experience to understand and appreciate racial differences in a positive way. And since the faculty is all-white, similar problems of "cultural lag" are also evident there.

- Race and poverty, the two paramount social problems in American life, have forced many universities to consider to what extent they should become instruments of social change. State universities have always been involved in some areas of social change—the rationale for creating the land-grant institutions was rooted in this philosophy—but race and poverty are emotional, personal and political matters, and many universities have avoided involvement in them for these reasons. One manifestation of university initiative in race and poverty problems is the establishment of "high-risk" programs for minority and low-income students who show potential but lack the usual credentials for college. Alabama has not done this (although it is being discussed at the Birmingham campus). Such programs are the primary means by which many universities have increased their enrollments of Negro students.

- The constraints of politics and money influence the extent to which the university will give serious priority to the needs of Alabama Negroes. Whether the state, through the governor or the legislature, will impose limits on desegregation or leave the degree and pace of it to the university is not known. The university's board of trustees is not controlled by the state and is theoretically free to chart its own course, but there is no reason to believe the trustees are ready to launch a vigorous desegregation effort, with or without state approval. As for money, it is a problem for all universities. Considering the total needs of the university, and of the other institutions and school systems of the state (including the black colleges), it seems unlikely that any funds for a concerted effort to advance desegregation at the University of Alabama will be either asked for or offered.

- How the majority-white population would react to accelerated desegregation of the university is another unknown factor. The same is true of the black minority, which includes many people with deep feelings of loyalty to the black colleges and others with a lingering suspicion of the white institutions.

All of these factors, and others besides, will affect whatever future responsibility the University of Alabama assumes for the higher education of Negroes. What the university has done thus far to advance desegregation could mean that the pace and pattern have been established; it could also mean that rising expectations among black Alabamians and rising fears among whites will make race a burning issue once again. Whatever happens, the University of Alabama, by opening its doors to Negroes, has started a process of social and institutional change that is not likely to end for many years. ○



RUTGERS:

The Rigors of Racial Change

At Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, a conscious, organized effort is being made to bring black Americans in significant numbers into every part of the institution, from its 6,500-man work force to the student bodies of its 18 colleges and schools.

This effort, begun on a modest scale in 1965, is now an urgent concern of the university. Rutgers claims to be reordering its priorities in an attempt to correct a serious racial and socio-economic imbalance in its makeup, and in its current state of ferment it is a prime example of an institution experiencing the rigors and the realities of racial change.

Race consciousness has come to Rutgers, particularly in the past two years, and it has produced some noticeable and measurable changes. It has also produced some frustrations and failures, some rekindled hopes, some departmental and inter-college schisms, and the promise (to some) and fear (to others) that more accelerated change is imminent.

The effort at Rutgers thus far has increased the prospect of change more than it has produced change itself. The university is still disproportionately and overwhelmingly white. Even a massive effort to change the racial complexion will be slow, costly and hazardous, hedged about by many limitations, some of which are beyond the control of the university. A look at the university's past, its setting and the forces currently at play there may help to place its racial concerns in perspective.

Rutgers had its origins in colonial America; its New Brunswick campus was an artillery site during the Revolutionary War. During its first 100 years, the institution was classical and elitist, in the tradition of the times. In 1862, the Land-Grant Act started a revolution of a different sort by opening higher education to the common man of agrarian and pre-industrial America, and in its second 100 years, Rutgers became a part of that new tradition.

Rutgers has now entered its third century, at a time when the black minority and the urban majority of the United States are the center of what has been called the third American Revolution. With its ivy-league image and agricultural traditions, the university now is located in the most densely populated state in the union, and that puts it, once again, in the middle of the revolution.

Rutgers has long nourished a reputation for academic freedom, liberalism and civil rights. It has had Negro students for decades. It has also had an interest in urban problems; in 1959, the university established the Urban Studies Center with a Ford Foundation grant to extend its teaching-research-service capacity into the cities, and its University College has offered evening study for adults in New Jersey's major cities since 1934.

But black Americans—and to a lesser extent other minorities and low-income whites—have received little direct benefit from these programs. The accompanying box, which contains some racial statistics on current enrollment, shows that 413 Negroes are full-time students in the undergraduate programs of Rutgers; as recently as 1964, the comparable figure was little more than 100.

New Jersey has provided limited higher education opportunities for its white citizens over the years, and for its Negro citizens those opportunities have been almost nonexistent. More New Jersey residents get their college education outside the state than in it; for Negroes, the ratio is much greater. The federal survey of undergraduate enrollment by race in 1967 showed only 1,634 Negroes attending college in New Jersey. In just 32 of the Negro colleges in the South, there are about 1,800 black students from New Jersey, according to a recent survey by Southern Education Reporting Service.

In 1965, a small group of Rutgers faculty members, joined by admissions personnel and other administrators, began to meet for discussions about ways of increasing black enrollment. "We had been snobbish, impersonal and data processing-oriented," recalls Robert Biunno, assistant dean of admissions, who was part of the group. "We realized we had to have some other criteria for admissions."

A committee was formed to begin a search in five selected urban high schools. About 25 black students, "kids who had done well in high school but not so well on the SAT exams," were turned up almost immediately. The effort was expanded to 10 high schools the next year, then to 15 in 1967. Financial aid, tutoring and other support measures were provided, and the number of black students admitted each year was increased.

Even now, the risk taken by the university in admitting these students is small. Almost all of them have entered one of the four undergraduate arts and sciences colleges, and according to Biunno, "their credentials have not been different enough to classify them as special exceptions." Admission to these colleges is competitive and selective; applications outnumber vacancies by about four to one, and average SAT scores in this year's freshman class range from a high of 1,170 at Rutgers College (the resident men's campus in New Brunswick) to a low of 1,060 at the College of South Jersey in Camden. High school rank-in-class statistics for this year's freshmen show the average student at Douglass (the women's campus in New Brunswick) was in the top 6 per cent and the average student at the Newark campus was in the top 25 per cent, with the other two colleges ranking between those two.

The individual credentials required to produce these averages are both lower and higher than the averages themselves, of course, and the black students have been close enough to the mean not to pull the averages down. But the competition for black students at these levels increases yearly, and Rutgers is finding that it must identify and admit a larger number each year in order to maintain its present level of enrollment. Increasing that level would require a greater effort—and a bigger risk.

In July, 1967, five days of rioting in Newark left 26 persons dead, 1,200 injured and property damage estimated at $10 million. Newark is New Jersey's largest city, and its non-white population is now above 50 per cent, up from 34 per cent in 1960. The riot raged within a few blocks of the Rutgers campus there.

A few weeks later, H.R. Kells, 33, joined the staff of Rutgers Provost and Vice President Richard Schlatter. Kells, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Rutgers and a New Jersey resident, earned a Ph.D. in applied biochemistry at the university and then shifted from research to administration. He returned to Rutgers from the State University of New York's campus at Binghampton to become assistant provost. Among other things, his new duties included administration of the university's efforts in the area of equal opportunity. He had actually agreed to take the job before the Newark riots, but his arrival was timely.

For the past two years, Kells has devoted almost all of his time to the equal opportunity task. A university council on equal opportunity, with 10 committees involving every college and school of the university, has institutionalized the effort to increase black representation in all areas. Kells, as executive secretary of the council, has co-ordinated these activities, using the power and prestige of the provost's office to push for redirected priorities in student recruitment, faculty and staff hiring, special programs and allocation of funds. And the equal opportunity council has been more than a mere paper tiger; with about 110 faculty, students, administrators, non-academic personnel and community representatives working in its committees, it has become a powerful force firmly established in the formal structure of the university.

Part of the council's clout derives from its democratic organization and its stress on representation and participation. William Weinberg, an assistant to President Mason Gross, underscores that point. "Identification of goals and exhortation aren't enough," he says. "It takes a structured solution, built into the framework, and it takes power and flexibility."

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

From a colonial college founded in 1766, Rutgers has grown to a state university with 18 colleges and schools and about 28,000 students at five campus locations. It was designated the land-grant college of New Jersey in 1864. A resident college for women was added in 1918, and in 1945 the state legislature combined the several divisions into the state university. A reorganization in 1956 resulted in creation of the Board of Governors with six voting members appointed by the governor of the state and five appointed by the existing Rutgers Board of Trustees. The president of Rutgers for the past 10 years, Dr. Mason W. Gross, and the state commissioner of education are ex-officio members of the Board of Governors. While Rutgers remains relatively autonomous, it is related to the state's six colleges and a developing system of two-year community colleges through the newly-created office of chancellor of higher education, which is currently developing a master plan for higher education in New Jersey.

The main campus of Rutgers is in New Brunswick. It includes the Rutgers College of Arts and Sciences (the university's original college, now 203 years old), which is a resident men's college; Douglass College, a resident campus for women; the College of Engineering; the College of Agriculture and Environmental Science; the Graduate School; graduate schools of education, library service and social work; the University College (evening school); the Medical School; and Livingston College, the first of three new residential, coeducational colleges to be developed as federated colleges within the university structure. In Newark, Rutgers has colleges of arts and sciences, pharmacy, and nursing, a school of law and a graduate school of business administration. And in Camden, the university has a school of law and the College of South Jersey. In addition to New Brunswick, Newark and Camden, the university also has extension programs and evening classes in Jersey City and Paterson.

The total cost for two semesters of full-time study in the resident colleges is estimated at $2,000 for New Jersey residents; out-of-state students pay an additional tuition of $400.

New Jersey's population of about 7.5 million is almost double what it was in 1940. Heavily industrialized and densely populated (1,000 people per square mile), it is the most urbanized state in the nation, and has been called "the city of New Jersey." The state's Negro population has more than tripled since 1940, and now makes up about 11 per cent of the total.

Private colleges and universities, with Princeton University as the centerpiece, have always dominated higher education in New Jersey; Rutgers itself was primarily a small, private, Ivy League-type college until it was taken over by the state after World War II. As a state university, Rutgers has expanded rapidly. Even so, 55 per cent of New Jersey's college students attend school outside the state, and New Jersey still ranks near the bottom in per-capita expenditure for public higher education, although it ranks 8th in personal income.

It also takes money. The council's efforts to increase opportunities for minorities have been fueled this year by funds from the New Jersey legislature, the federal government, the university and the faculty; in all, some $850,000 has been applied to student aid, new faculty salaries, a variety of special programs and administrative costs. Among the expenditures:

- $265,000 to employ 20 black faculty members (including two librarians) and 11 black administrators. While this money was not specifically earmarked for Negroes, departments seeking to fill new or vacated positions were motivated by a premium on qualified blacks.
- About $410,000 in student financial aid, including approximately $160,000 in grants, loans and work-study funds from the federal government. The total also included a $94,000 emergency allocation from the Rutgers Board of Governors, $45,000 in reshuffled university funds for graduate assistantships and fellowships to new minority-group students, about $10,000 from the university for undergraduate scholarships, two $1,000 scholarships donated by the faculty, and $99,000 from the New Jersey Educational Opportunity Fund.

Ralph A. Dungan, New Jersey's chancellor of higher education, engineered creation of the Educational Opportunity Fund by the 1968 legislature to support financial assistance and special programs for economically and educationally disadvantaged students in the public and private colleges and universities of the state. The initial appropriation of more than $2 million is said to be the largest state-financed student aid program in the country. Thirty colleges in the state, including five at Rutgers, participated in the program; each was required to commit some of its own resources to supplement the aid received. The Educational Opportunity Fund's potential for accelerating black enrollment at Rutgers is significant; the statewide allocation for next year is expected to exceed $4 million, and Rutgers hopes to get about $400,000 of that total for student aid, with at least 10 per cent of it earmarked for graduate students.

- $100,000 from the state legislature to support several new programs for minority students. This money was made available after a group of students from the university staged an orderly march on the legislature and lobbied persuasively for help. The kinds of activities made possible by these funds include summer studies, tutoring, special courses, staffing and talent search projects such as the 15-high-school program mentioned earlier. For 1969–70, the university asked for $1.1 million in equal opportunity program funds, but that amount has been pared to $370,000, including about $120,000 for Livingston College, a new residential college which will open next fall.
- About $64,000 from the regular university budget to cover direct administrative costs and other expenses of operating these programs. Included in this amount was $14,000 to establish a Martin Luther King professorship in the Graduate School of Education.

The University Council on Equal Opportunity has been directly involved in the procurement and distribution of these funds. Its control of a sizable purse and its representative structure at all levels of the university have given the EOC the power to cause change with money, and in other ways as well.

For example, the council has been involved, in behalf of students, in cases concerning off-campus housing discrimination, and President Gross notified all realtors and rental agents that the University "shall take all available action, including resort to law suits, to prevent discrimination against its students." In another area, the university's personnel division, with the support and encouragement of the EOC, has launched a recruiting program with the assistance of leaders in the black communities. Notices of openings are sent regularly to about 100 contacts in these communities. In-service training programs have been instituted to increase the opportunities for promotion, and the departments and divisions of the university are kept conscious of the high priority which has been given to increased desegregation.

On the difficult problem of keeping records by race, the EOC has used visual counts, department-by-department checks, voluntary questionnaires and even yearbook pictures to compile statistics. The accuracy of all these methods is questionable, and there is a possibility that the university may soon set up a formal system by which accurate data can be obtained. Meanwhile, the EOC is using a variety of checks and cross-checks to get the statistics it feels it must have to measure change.

As troubleshooter, persuader and enforcer, the EOC has also been effective. With the backing of the council, Herb Kells prodded the Newark campus admissions office into a crash recruiting program last summer that more than doubled the college's black enrollment. Kells sided with a group of black students in Newark to force the issue, which also led to the appointment of a black admissions director there. After the confrontation, the EOC put funds into the Newark program for orientation, tutoring and remedial courses, and promised them more help when the numbers of risk students increase.

The equal opportunity council is now chaired by Malcolm Talbott, a vice president of the university, and he has pushed hard on the need for organization and sustained effort to raise the enrollment of minority and low-income students. The council has been effective in its work so far, and promises to be more so, in part because it has made bureaucracy work. It has used campus politics, memorandums and directives, the labyrinth of committees and the privilege of rank—all pillars of bureaucratic organization—as the tools and weapons of change.

Herb Kells gives the impression of a man well-chosen to run such a program. He is not a public relations man, he makes few speeches or public statements, and outside the EOC he has little contact with faculty or students in his capacity as administrator of equal opportunity programs. His is a relatively anonymous inside job, and he has used his knowledge of administrative procedure and his conviction of the need for racial equity to fashion his approach to it. Kells has made some enemies, but he has had good backing from the council and from Provost Schlatter, and he is one of the few whites who gets passing marks from militant black students.

Kells has asked for a reassignment at the end of this year, and a new man, probably black, will be named executive secretary of the EOC. In his two years in the job, he has put together a personal list of "essentials," things he thinks a university must do "to get in and get something done in equal opportunity on a large scale." These are some of the items on his list:

- The university must have a deep philosophical commitment to equal opportunity, and must express it intelligently with a sense of timing, history and perspective.
- There must be a willingness to reshuffle priorities on a permanent basis.
- Funds must be provided to pay full-time administrative salaries for essential key positions in admissions, talent search, counseling and other areas.
- There must be a democratic structure which gets to the grass roots of the university, involves a lot of people—especially students—and provides due process.
- There should be as much community involvement as possible, particularly in the search for prospective students.
- It is far more important to push for equal opportunity in a lot of areas at the same time than to concentrate on one or two. The more balls in the air, the harder—but the better. Decentralize your efforts, be diverse and flexible, and have a lot of people with responsibility and initiative at work on as many aspects of the problem as possible.
- It is destructive to accomplish everything by confrontation politics; it hardens the opposition. When you push too hard, too fast and too far, the things you get started can't keep going on their own momentum.
- In a big institution, there must be several levels of entry, a variety of attractive programs, a wide range of risks.
- There must be a willingness in the university to reconsider the virtues of a lot of sacred cows, including student selection, faculty credentials and the makeup of the curriculum.
- The states must lead the way in providing financial support for equal opportunity; it is primarily their responsibility, and they have the ability.
- Equal opportunity has to be multiracial. Universities must be concerned with all those whose economic and social circumstances have excluded them.

These philosophical and strategic ideas for reducing racial and social homogeneity in higher education are not original with Kells. Many institutions are now grappling with this problem, and the kinds of things he includes in his list are being done in bits and pieces elsewhere. Rutgers has done and is doing some of the things on the list, and it has at least dabbled in most of the others. Just how large and difficult a task it faces can be partially seen by considering these facts: in the past two years, the university has devoted a considerable amount of money, time and attention to the underrepresentation of Negroes in its total operations; yet it would take almost four times as many black students as are currently enrolled to raise the percentage of black Americans to the level they now have in the population of New Jersey.

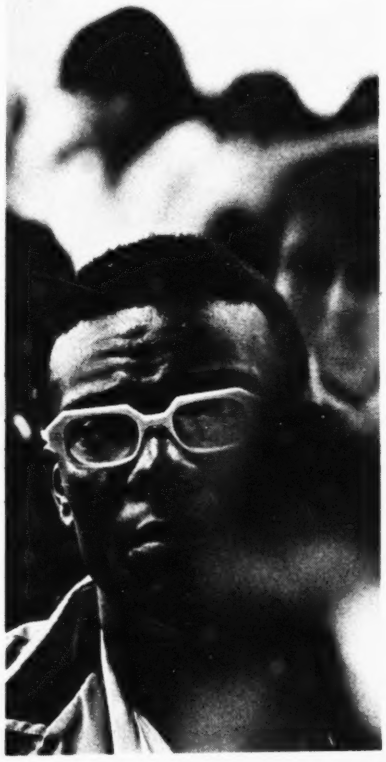
Kells thinks the momentum of all the efforts now under way will increase the numbers of black students to 5 per cent within the next year or two. After that, he believes, the total will creep slowly toward 10 per cent. "There are about 35 other institutions in the state trying to do the same thing we're doing," he says, "and with so many New Jersey students going out of the state to college, it makes the job even tougher. The competition is going to get fierce."

Competition is not the only limiting factor. Earlier this year, a white student complained to the American Civil Liberties Union that Rutgers had denied him admission in order to make room for less qualified black students. As it turned out, the black students were not less qualified, and Rutgers so far has not admitted any black students whose credentials absolutely disqualified them for admission. But the point is clear: in an institution as selective and competitive as Rutgers, exceptions to the stated admission requirements cause trouble, and the greater the exception, the greater the trouble.

There have been minor rumblings of discontent among faculty and students about the growth of minority and disadvantaged enrollment, and faculty support for further increases is said to be either not growing or diminishing in some colleges and departments. These things have been discussed in the equal opportunity council, and they are matters of continuing concern. Questions have also been raised in the executive committee of the Rutgers Alumni Association about the qualifications of minority and low-income students being admitted to the university, and the admissions office has encountered a similar attitude in its mail.

And on the other side, a number of black students are openly and increasingly critical of the university's response to racial and urban problems, and some black faculty members and community leaders are also unconvinced of the university's commitment.

These expressions of disaffection from whites and blacks are received with uneasiness at Rutgers. The university is in the middle, and whatever it does is likely to be criticized as either too much or too little.



NEGROES AT RUTGERS

The state's rapidly growing black population has shared only minimally in the corresponding expansion of Rutgers. As recently as three years ago, Negroes made up less than 1 per cent of the Rutgers enrollment. The first black full-time faculty member was appointed less than 15 years ago. In that same 15-year period, no more than 200 of the 24,000 undergraduate degrees awarded by the university went to Negroes, and an even smaller number received graduate or professional degrees. (A recent survey of black professionals in New Jersey produced these estimates: two school superintendents, a dozen secondary school principals, 60 lawyers, 50 to 75 engineers, 175 doctors, fewer than 100 dentists, two optometrists, 50 to 100 social workers.)

A modest effort to increase the number of Negro students was begun in 1965. In 1967, the university organized a more extensive and intensive program to reduce the still-growing racial and socio-economic imbalance in the university community. Estimated racial statistics show the following for the fall of 1968:

For the university as a whole, the full-time undergraduate enrollment of 13,826 includes an estimated 413 Negroes (about 210 of these are males, and 196 are freshmen). In the graduate and professional schools, approximately 175 of 5,904 students are Negroes. Thus, black students make up 3 per cent of both the undergraduate and graduate-professional enrollment. Part-time undergraduate students, almost all of whom are in the evening programs of the University College, number about 8,000, including an estimated 334 Negroes (4 per cent).

A breakdown of the statistics on full-time undergraduate students shows that 140 of the 413 blacks are at the Newark College of Arts and Sciences, and another 115 are at Douglass College. In the graduate and professional schools, most of the Negro students are in arts and sciences, education, social work and law. Library service, business administration, medicine, nursing and pharmacy show a combined total of only 27 Negro students.

For the university as a whole, about 90 per cent of the student body is from New Jersey; among Negro undergraduate students, the percentage is even higher. A majority of Negro graduate students are from Negro colleges in the South.

An estimated 7 per cent of the university's freshmen leave for academic reasons by the end of their first year; the comparable attrition rate for black students is about 10 per cent.

An estimated 40 black students will receive undergraduate degrees at the 1969 spring commencement, and another 15 are expected to be awarded graduate or professional degrees.

Of some 2,100 full-time, faculty-rank positions at Rutgers, 33 are held by Negroes; 20 of the 33 joined the faculty this year. About 1,100 full-time administrative and professional staff members also are employed; Negroes hold 15 of those positions, and 11 of them are in their first year. An estimated 100 of the top 4,000 positions in the university are held by Negroes, and of the total work force of 6,500, about 450 are Negroes.

At the moment, its efforts to become more inclusive of black Americans draw criticism from both races.

Some of these efforts were mentioned in a general way in the earlier discussion of the equal opportunity council. A closer look at a few of the colleges and schools provides more specifics.

There are fewer than 100 black students among more than 6,400 men at Rutgers College, and three black faculty members out of a total faculty of more than 500. Several courses in the departments of English, geography, philosophy, political science, sociology, economics and history deal in part with black Americans, or more generally with the subjects of race, poverty, African studies and related matters. A few courses, including one in history, a senior honors seminar in political science and a junior honors colloquium offered jointly by the English and history departments, deal directly and entirely with Negro history and race relations.

Black students at Rutgers College, like their counterparts on many other campuses, have pushed hard for more black students and faculty, a black studies department and separate residence hall facilities. These issues remain unresolved; they have been blunted somewhat by the university's willingness to respond to them, but more especially by the planning of Livingston College, which will have several features attractive to black students when it opens next fall. About 45 black students, most of them from Rutgers and Douglass colleges, have been involved in the planning of Livingston.

Dr. Warren I. Susman, a professor of history at Rutgers College, spent most of the past year studying the educational program of the college and preparing an evaluation with recommendations for what he calls "the reconstruction of an American college." At the end of his report, Susman noted that he had suggested ways "to liberate the overall system" to meet the individual needs and interests of all students. But, he added, "no suggestions made thus far come close to dealing with the urgent problems of education for many black students in urban white America." Susman said "something far more dramatic than a few courses in black history or black music" is needed.

An organization of white students known as the Emergency Committee Against Racism makes a point not touched on by Susman: that white students, as much as blacks, need an educational experience which is not exclusively oriented to the special needs of the white middle class. ECAR made a study this year of the curricula of Rutgers and Douglass colleges and the courses to be offered at Livingston, and compiled an annotated list of courses touching on the subject of racism or relating in any way to the heritage, achievements and status of Afro-Americans. Dan Jass, a sophomore, wrote the ECAR report, which included specific recommendations of ways in which "the curriculum could better meet its obligations to the university society in general via the study of race relations and [to] the black student on campus through . . . Afro-American studies." The report, Jass wrote, could be "the first step in the creation of an Afro- American Studies department."

The ECAR report has been favorably received in many quarters, including the equal opportunity council and the top administration of the university. But Dr. Arnold B. Grobman, dean of Rutgers College, has raised objections to black studies because they encourage separatism, and has suggested that "faculty members in appropriate disciplines, if they do not already do so, can . . . make reference to—if not emphasize—the contributions to their fields made by members of minority groups."

Jass, in a letter to the student newspaper, said faculty reaction to the ECAR report showed a lack of understanding of the need of both blacks and whites for the kinds of courses his committee had proposed.

Jerry Harris, a 21-year-old senior at Rutgers College, says the ECAR reports is "a good, objective analysis from the white point of view. It shows how poorly the university is doing." Harris is one of seven black students who rotate in and out of the chairmanship of the Student Afro-American Society, an organization of black students in the New Brunswick colleges of Rutgers. He is highly critical of the university's overall performance to date in changing its white orientation. There is some individual commitment on the part of a few administrators, he says, "but they eventually fall into line with the old style."

Harris is among the black students involved in the planning of Livingston College, and he is hopeful that it will be far more attractive to black students. Douglass College has done a better job in this respect than Rutgers, he says, but he adds that throughout the university, "the effort to bring about changes has been marginal and insufficient. There are too many vested interests, too many rigid people trying to maintain the image of Rutgers. Anything they do beyond the usual they think is a big deal. It would take an assassination a week to keep the white consciences hurting."

There has been no racial violence at Rutgers, and Harris says he has "no confidence that it would really help us." The currents of separatism appear to be strong; few blacks belong to fraternities, none of them have any ties with white radical groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society, and interracial social contact is not very noticeable.

At Douglass College, there are 115 black students among some 2,860 girls, and two members of the faculty are black. Special recruitment and admission programs have brought in 86 black students in the past three years who probably would not have come if they had not been sought out, and 19 other students, including whites, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, a Spanish girl and a Chinese girl, were similarly recruited. Most of them attended a summer prep session, and other

supportive services—reduced class loads, tutoring, special counseling and advising—have been provided. All but seven of the 105 "specially admitted" students are still there. Dr. Dorothy Redden, an English professor and co-ordinator of faculty advising for the girls, says the college has not taken much of a risk in admitting them. "They're very much like our regular students," she says. Dr. Redden believes a more vigorous recruiting effort could raise the number of minority students to about 10 per cent, and she is strongly in favor of it. "The presence of these girls has done a lot for Douglass," she says. "They have sparked reforms for all students."

Maxine Summey, one of the girls, says there is very much black awareness but not much militancy and not as much of a separatist tendency among the black girls as among the male students. "We didn't ask for a black dorm," she says, "because we didn't think it was necessary."

In the curriculum, there are three English courses on black literature (two of them taught by Dr. Redden) and a few courses in other departments which deal in part with the black experience. Other specific courses will be added next year.

Three other avenues which take new students into Rutgers are described briefly below:

- The College of South Jersey in Camden has been part of the university since 1950. Formerly a two-year college, it now has a full four-year program and about 1,200 students, only 21 of whom are black. One of the university's law schools is also located there; it has about 150 students, including three blacks. A push is under way in Camden to involve the College of South Jersey more directly in the community and to increase the numbers of black students, the latter effort including a community-initiated talent search program.
- The University College operates evening programs in five New Jersey urban centers. More than 8,000 part-time students and another 200 full-time students are enrolled in 17 bachelor's and associate (two-year) degree programs. Admission is open to any student who finished in the top three-fourths of his high school class, and others, including non-high school graduates who pass a high school equivalency exam, can also gain entry in some cases. No entrance exams, such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test, are required.

The University College has always catered to adults who responded to its advertised programs; it has not recruited students. Negroes have not taken part in any appreciable numbers. Last May, Dean G. Stuart Demarest directed the college's department chairmen and administrative officers to begin recruiting, admitting, counseling and tutoring "qualified prospective students in the community, especially in disadvantaged areas." New courses on social and urban problems are being planned, and an effort is being made to increase the college's small student aid resources.

The number of black students enrolled in the college now is estimated at about 370, including about 335 part-time students. The recruitment effort thus far has been disappointing; community meetings have been poorly attended, and high school guidance counselors, never before approached by the University College, still see Rutgers only in terms of its ivy league image. Dean of Students Edward W. Phoenix says the college is severely understaffed, and needs more recruiting and counseling personnel, in addition to student aid funds, to achieve a breakthrough in minority student enrollment. There is a strong feeling among the faculty and staff that the university has always treated the college "like a stepchild." But the college's potential for bringing large numbers of Negroes into higher education is probably greater than that of any other college in the university.

- The University Extension Division, with central offices in New Brunswick and regional centers in four cities, has been in operation for more than 40 years, conducting non-credit courses, conferences and workshops for about 50,000 persons each year. The University College is a spin-off of this division. Several functions of the extension division are focused on problems of race relations and urban society. The principal unit for attacking these problems is the Bureau of Community Services, started several years ago in a separate institute of the university—the Urban Studies Center—and placed under the University Extension Division in 1965 as part of a general reorganization. The Bureau of Community Services, drawing from the resources of the extension division and the Cooperative Extension Service of the College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences, has one primary mission: to relate the resources of the university to the community, and the community's resources to the university.

The Bureau of Community Services develops adult education programs for minorities, conducts seminars and broadcasts for adults on the problems of urban change and race relations, involves its staff in a wide range of community service activities, marshals university resources to meet urban problems, and provides consultation and other assistance for community planning and development. The BCS is constructing a concept of urban extension, similar in many respects to the traditional university role in agricultural extension, to bring specialized skills and resources to the service of minorities and low-income people in the central city. It has urban agents—somewhat like home demonstration and county agents—applying specialized skills to a wide range of programs: organizing urban youth groups, providing information and referral services, establishing ombudsman systems, providing instruction and counsel on home, family, personal and educational problems of the poor.

These are relatively new involvements for Rutgers. The Bureau of Community Service is still in the process of forming, and there is plenty of ferment in its staff, which is more integrated than any other in the

"Universities have always engaged in the business of changing the quality of people's lives for the purpose of upward mobility. But racial minorities— and poor people generally— have not shared in that process."

university. It clashes with the Cooperative Extension Division in the College of Agriculture, and with other departments and divisions, over issues of purpose, priority and strategy, and as the BCS becomes more established it seems likely that more sparks will fly. The Bureau of Community Services and its parent University Extension Division are not points of entry into Rutgers in the same sense as the undergraduate colleges, but they do form a connecting avenue between the university and the citizens of New Jersey, and the active involvement of the BCS in urban problems, particularly problems of race and poverty, adds a new dimension to the university's relationship with Negroes.

There are two other undergraduate colleges of the university which have not been reported on here. One of them, Livingston, will be discussed later. The other is the Newark College of Arts and Sciences.

The Newark campus of Rutgers includes an undergraduate arts and sciences college, colleges of nursing and pharmacy, a school of law and the Graduate School of Business Administration. Divisions of other university colleges and schools also are located there. The arts and sciences college is a commuter school with a full-time enrollment of about 3,000 students, including 140 Negroes. Last year, there were only 62 black students in the college; a stepped-up recruiting program and several new supporting services more than doubled that figure.

Newark's population is now more than 52 per cent black, and another 10 per cent are Spanish-speaking (mostly Puerto Ricans). The Newark riots, the slaying of Dr. Martin Luther King and the rising militancy of the city's minorities have contributed to an acute race consciousness on the university campus. The feeling that minorities have not been a significant part of the university's operations—and a sense of urgency in changing the pattern—is heard frequently in conversation.

Malcolm Talbott, the vice president at Newark, expresses that notion bluntly. "There has been a philosophical democratization of higher education in the United States," he says. "Universities have always engaged in the business of changing the quality of people's lives for the purpose of upward mobility. But racial minorities—and poor people generally—have not shared in that process. We've got a homogeneous college population, and even the students who are exceptions to the rule have only been offered those things which prepare them to 'become white.' The curriculum has been constructed in response to the demands of the users. State universities are responsive to their consumers, or to whoever funds their programs."

"Blacks and Puerto Ricans here are rebelling against all that," Talbott continued. "They pay taxes too, but they haven't shared in the benefits. A violent response comes when decisions affecting people's lives are made without their participation. White America must treat black America according to the accepted legal principle of equity. This is an urgent priority. We've got work to do, and we're going to do it. The Newark campus of Rutgers has to serve the five million people of northern New Jersey—without limits, without quotas."

There is some disagreement on the campus over whether it should serve Newark (majority black) or northern New Jersey (about 20 per cent black), and that debate is likely to intensify. For the present, though, it is an academic argument; the black enrollment now is only 4 per cent. The machinery which has been set up in the past year or so has shown some effectiveness in raising the numbers of black students. Talbott and others at Newark believe that enough momentum is being generated to produce significant change in a short period of time.

Talbott, a former law professor at the university, is chairman of the university-wide equal opportunity council. He is also co-chairman of the Newark Committee for Concern, formed after the 1967 riots as a base for an urban coalition of community and civic organizations. Since the riots, and particularly in the past year, Rutgers-Newark has turned its attention to the city around it in a number of ways.

Also in the past year, the Black Organization of Students at the Newark campus has presented President Mason Gross and the Board of Governors with specific complaints about the small number of black students and faculty, the need for new courses and other matters. And in a special issue of the campus newspaper written and edited by black students last fall, one student called Rutgers-Newark "a hallmark of ridiculous, sorrowful, pitiful, arrogant urban universities." The college should be at least 30 per cent black, he wrote, and added, "Once Black students are admitted to Rutgers, our troubles have just begun." He said the college is unprepared to educate them.

Angry rhetoric has become a standard tool of both black and white students on college campuses these days, and Rutgers is no exception. Some white students see the Black Organization of Students as militant and threatening, but aside from the strident tone of a couple of articles in the newspaper, the black students have actually been less militant than some white activist organizations. On election day last fall, a demonstration by the Students for a Democratic Society and a counter-demonstration by the Young Americans for Freedom led to violence; a number of students were injured, some university property was damaged, and police in large numbers were required to keep opposing student groups apart on campus as well as in downtown Newark.

Carl Wyhopen, a 22-year-old senior, is president of the Student Council at Rutgers-Newark. He thinks the university is making a concerted effort to increase the black enrollment, and he approves of it. "But a lot of white students believe the standards have been lowered to get more blacks in," he says, "and they don't like it."

All three student organizations—SDS, YAF and BOS—are small, and on a campus where all students are commuters, no organization has commanding strength and influence. Nevertheless, the rumbles of discontent are a matter of concern, and neither the discontent nor the concern appears to be slackening.

There is one point, however, where the interests of all parties at Rutgers-Newark appear to come together. Wyhopen expressed it this way: "Our big thing is conflict between this campus and New Brunswick; we're together on that." First on the list of the black students' complaints to the Board of Governors was that "Rutgers-Newark, like black Americans today, enjoys second class citizenship in the Rutgers family." They said the Newark campus's "black sheep image" as a place for "dim-witted, apathetic, poverty-stricken high school graduates" had to go, and said the campus should be accorded proper recognition.

In a conversation with four members of the faculty, the same resentment was evident. They complained of having to "operate on pennies, while all the money is poured into Livingston." Said one of them: "Livingston says it's going to be an urban college, but it's located out in the country. I can't see a state university strapped for funds being able to do this small-college thing. That same money spent here could educate three times as many students. The only way they'll get a black enrollment of 25 or 30 per cent will be to take ours. What they're doing is dishonorable. It's intra-university robbery."

Such rivalry is not uncommon in higher education. What makes it noteworthy in this instance is the reference to black students; they are not only vied for *among* institutions, but also *within* them.

The Rutgers law school in Newark has long had a liberal reputation and a faculty active in civil rights and public service. But entrance is competitive—one in four applicants is accepted—and few Negro students have gotten in. In the eight years prior to last fall, an average of three Negroes a year was in each entering class of about 145 students. Of the 8,000 members of the New Jersey bar, only about 60 are black.

Last fall, the law school faculty waived the standard admission test and took 20 Negro students as freshmen. They are receiving financial assistance, tutoring and special counseling, and some are taking a slightly reduced course load. For at least the next two years, the law school will take 40 more black students in each entering class.

Although the admission test was not used as a criterion for entry, the specially admitted students took it, and averaged 426. Regularly admitted students averaged 583 on the test. The 20 black students included nine who did their undergraduate work at black colleges in the South, and two who studied at white Southern institutions; five others were from Rutgers. When the special admission program has been in effect three years, an estimated 86 of the school's 400 students will be Negroes, and within five years it could more than double the number of black lawyers in the state.

Another of the university's graduate and professional schools with a growing involvement in minority and urban programs is the Graduate School of Education. The school's new dean, Dr. Milton Schwebel, is the author of a new book, *Who Can Be Educated?*, in which he described a theory and technique of teaching that is becoming a major part of teacher education at Rutgers. The focus is on "addressing the kinds of problems traditional teacher education has avoided," says Schwebel. "We want to develop the kind of person who can go into the Bedford-Stuyvesants of this country and understand what is happening."

The School of Education is small, with only 140 full-time students—16 of them are black. But last year there was only one black student. Two new faculty members and an assistant dean are Negroes, and a Martin Luther King professorship is being filled this year by eight prominent black educators on a rotating basis. All but two of the black students are from Southern Negro colleges, including two schools—North Carolina A & T and Jackson State—with which the School of Education has a working relationship.

"We have turned to the black colleges for students because blacks in the North have been moving into other fields and away from education," Schwebel says. "But a lot of the black students we have found in the South are from the North. We held an institute for placement officers from black colleges and found that they knew more about New Jersey than most of our faculty. So we're going to the black colleges to bring New Jersey students back home for graduate work."

The School of Education has several interdisciplinary programs of instruction and internship that are flexible, problem-oriented and strong on experience. Undergraduate teacher education was discontinued as a major program several years ago; undergraduates in the arts and sciences may take courses in the school in order to become certified to teach, but the emphasis now is on master's-level programs.

Schwebel's leadership is changing the face of the School of Education. The stress on race and class in urban society is reflected in many parts of the curriculum, the faculty, the student body and in the public service programs of the school. Some of the faculty are unhappy about the new look—one of their number described the group as "one-third committed, one-third neutral and one-third foot-draggers"—but the trend is clearly established. "Even our catalog has been changed," said one professor, "and if your know anything about catalogs, you know that means something."

The Rutgers Educational Action Program (REAP) and Upward Bound, two special education programs for secondary school students, have had some connection with the School of Education and with other units of the university, but for the most part have functioned independently. REAP was started in 1963 by Laurence Hopp, an assistant professor of education. It involved about 60 children a year in summer programs and regular-year follow-up activities. The children, most of them black and all of them poor, were seventh-graders, and REAP was an experimental effort to combine home, school and community in a program of education tailored to the particular needs of each student. Upward Bound was started in 1966, and has become a kind of follow-up of the REAP program. Following the general pattern of Upward Bound programs elsewhere—and with some imaginative touches applied locally—it has enrolled 150 students a year.

Hopp had directed both the REAP and Upward Bound projects, and Dr. Melvin Lang, an associate professor of education, has been in charge of evaluation and research. Both men are disturbed that the program has not been made an integral part of the university. "The effort to marry the university and REAP has been a failure," says Lang. "We're told our programs are too practical, but over in the ag school they're developing seedless watermelons—what could be more practical than that? The faculty is too hung up on scholarship."

Livingston College has been mentioned several times in this report. It has not yet enrolled its first class, but it is already a prime topic of discussion, particularly when the university's response to black Americans is brought up.

Livingston is being planned as a residential, coeducational arts and sciences college with an emphasis on urban problems. Graduate programs in urban planning, computer science and anthropology will be offered, and undergraduate degree programs in conjunction with the colleges of agriculture-environmental science and engineering will be included, but in the main Livingston will be a community-oriented, inclusive college providing a liberal education for urban living.

Livingston is a dream in the process of taking concrete form. A great many people, in and out of the university, are involved in the planning of it. In the assembling of its student body, faculty and staff, its planners are trying to include "all segments of society in sufficient numbers that no group will conceive of itself as a minority." About 800 students will make up the beginning class, and the hope is that roughly 25 per cent will be blacks and Puerto Ricans. The faculty of 80 will include about 10 or 15 minority-group members. The college is the first of three being planned by Rutgers on the site of what used to be Camp Kilmer, an army base across the Raritan River from the main campuses of the university. Under the university's new "federated college plan," the old and new colleges in New Brunswick will pool many of their resources and talents but retain their individuality, and the distinctiveness of Livingston will center around its multi-disciplined approach to urban society.

So much of what can be said about Livingston now must be said in the future tense. There are plans to have an honors-credit-no credit grading system; no courses will be specifically required; it will be possible to graduate without having a major subject; the credentials which usually are prerequisite to faculty status will not necessarily be required; and in the admission of students there is a highly selective screening of applicants, but no specific minimum credentials are required. How all of this will work can't be determined until it's tried. Whatever happens, Livingston is sure to be a lively place.

Two central figures in the planning of Livingston are its dean, Dr. Ernest A. Lynton, and its assistant dean, James McDonald. Lynton is a 42-year-old, German-born physicist who has been at Rutgers for 17 years. Until about 1964, his major interest was research; a series of committee assignments led him to some philosophical considerations of the nature of colleges, and finally to the deanship. Lynton says the new college "is an attempt to show that public higher education can be made relevant, community-oriented, inclusive and responsive." He talks of it having racial, national and socio-economic diversity, and says its faculty and students will combine intellectual and practical skills to analyze, redesign and create social systems.

The rich combination of people and ideas being stirred together at Livingston is brewing something that is holding the attention of the entire Rutgers community, not to mention many others outside the university. The reactions are so varied that the college is certain to be controversial, no matter what it turns out to be. Dean Lynton is conscious of that, and apparently resigned to it. "You take a chance," he says. "A severe backlash from whites or excessive black demands could destroy it. It's going to be tough. But we're meeting the issues head-on, and we can only wait and see. I feel very positive about the whole thing."

Lynton is described by James McDonald as "a gentle revolutionary." How best to describe Dean McDonald is difficult to say. He is a 37-year-old black man from Madison, Wis., Raleigh, N.C., and New York City (in chronological order, and with other stops in between), who is trying to convince the black citizens of New Jersey—and ultimately, himself—that Livingston is for real.

"I'm working *on* Livingston *for* the black community," McDonald says. "Rutgers has a very bad reputation in the black community—people are suspicious of it. I'm trying to raise people's hopes about this college. It could offer an opportunity for black unification. But the question is, will we simply be the front line for the white establishment, placing limits on blacks, or will we serve people, and make this place truly open to them?"

McDonald's presence has influenced the formation of Livingston's personality, not only in terms of its black consciousness but also in its examination of the sacraments of the academic world. Faculty credentials, research and publication, tenure, curriculum design and even academic freedom have been thrashed over and argued about, in part because of questions and criticisms from McDonald.

But his main bag is blackness. He is an articulate and effective proponent of as much black influence as he can get into Livingston. Apparently that influence is already too great in the eyes of many whites, including some Rutgers faculty, and it is obviously not enough to suit many blacks. When Livingston opens next fall, it is almost certain to be attacked for being too black or too white—or both—and in any event, Jim McDonald will be the man closest to the heat.

In its efforts to change its racial complexion, Rutgers University has some good things going for it. It has organized and institutionalized equal opportunity as a preoccupation in every corner of the university, and brought financial and other resources to bear on the problem. The structure of the university is diverse and dispersed, allowing half a dozen or more avenues of entry—in different locations and with different entrance requirements. And the university has a great many capable and sensitive people for whom race is an urgent concern, and full equality is a top priority.

But Rutgers also has some serious limitations and liabilities. It seems unlikely to have a substantial increase in Negro students—to twice or three times the present level, let alone to 10 per cent or more—without making exceptions to current practices, and such reverse discrimination in favor of blacks is certain to generate a white reaction. The university also has serious money problems, and even with the state's Educational Opportunity Fund, the limits on the numbers of minority and low-income students are real and present. And within its own ranks—students, faculty, administration, alumni, employees, trustees—the complex arguments of quality vs. quantity, reverse discrimination, unconscious racism and unjust enrichment are not uniformly convincing by any means.

President Gross is aware of the conflicting currents which now flow so strongly. Race relations is not the university's only problem, nor is it a problem only for the university, but it is a problem that is urgent and serious, and it won't go away with a wish. Says Gross: "State universities have always existed for the purpose of providing opportunity, but we've defined opportunity too narrowly. Now we must do much more than say our doors are open. We must recruit actively among minorities, and we must reinterpret admission standards without in any way affecting the quality of graduation standards. You cannot penalize a man because his preparation is inferior. We're starting on a long, hard business, on so many fronts, but it should have been done long ago. These people are citizens of New Jersey; we have an obligation to them." ○

UCLA:

Suburbia Meets the Urban Crisis

WITH PERHAPS a touch of hyperbole, the University of California has been called the biggest, the best, the most visible and the most volatile university in America. It is the original multiversity (the word was popularized there, by former President Clark Kerr), and by almost any index, from the number of Nobel Prize winners on its faculty to the number of activist/militant/radicals in its student body, it is in the vanguard of contemporary higher education.

The university is so large, diverse and complex that any attempt to isolate one aspect of it—in this case, its relationship to black Americans—is probably foredoomed, particularly when the attempt is based on a five-day visit by a single individual. What follows here is a report of interviews and observations in the university's central administrative offices in Berkeley and at its Los Angeles campus, one of nine in the total complex. The report is tentative, qualified and far from comprehensive, but it may help to identify some of the racial conflicts and concerns, and some of the cross currents now running through the university. First, a look at UCLA:

The University of California at Los Angeles has a new chancellor, Dr. Charles E. Young, who has taken a personal interest in the race and class problems of the university, and his vice chancellor for educational planning and programs, Miss Rosemary Park, devotes a majority of her time to these matters. Miss Park and Dr. Charles Z. Wilson, an assistant vice chancellor, are beginning to assemble the machinery for systematic reconstruction of UCLA's racial and social character.

They face a formidable task. Statistics in the accompanying box show that less than 5 per cent of the students on the Los Angeles campus are from ethnic minority groups other than Oriental, and the handful of black faculty members constitute only about 1 per cent of the total. Furthermore, high academic standards and intense competition for available openings in the university severely limit the possibilities for significant racial change, as do financial restraints. In spite of these things, changes are taking place this year—not only Dr. Young's first year as chancellor, but Dr. Wilson's first year in his position and Miss Park's second in hers. In several areas of the university, concerns about racial inequities are being translated into specific efforts to bring about change.

UCLA has neither the setting nor the traditions to recommend it for a leadership role in tackling urban problems. Located in the West Los Angeles area, just across Sunset Boulevard from the gilded community of Bel-Air, the university has been identified in the past with the kind of sparkling white wealth that dominates that section of the city. A dean at UCLA once commented, "When the call to the barricades is sounded, not many people from Bel-Air will answer" —and until recently, UCLA presented little contrast to that attitude of isolation and conservatism. Watts was a long hour's bus ride away, across the serpentine freeways—and light-years distant from the sophisticated campus milieu.

But the Watts riot moved it closer to UCLA's suburban gates, and since then the rising militancy of minorities and the death of Martin Luther King have caused the university to reconsider its responsibilities to the non-white and non-wealthy segments of the city.

Some of those concerns have been there for several years, but they were not noticeably productive. What appears to be happening at UCLA now is that interest, encouragement and pressure from the top—and pressures from the ranks of the minorities—have increased the consciousness of racial problems and started a shuffling of priorities. All of the concerns under the "urban crisis" umbrella are being brought into focus, and some of the consequences of this are already evident.

Miss Park was formerly the president of Barnard College, Columbia University. "There may be more opportunities for rapid change in a small, private institution," she says, "but the state university has a mandate to be of service to society, and being larger, it can have a bigger quantitative impact." Commenting on UCLA's shifting role in racial and social matters and her own involvement in that process, she says:

"These are unusual times. You can attend a faculty meeting here and be exposed to 75 years of philosophical thought in one afternoon—you'll hear arguments for integration, segregation, educating the top 10 per cent, educating the bottom 10 per cent, taking all ethnic minorities, being color blind, and so on. On the whole, I think the faculty will support our present efforts to increase minority representation, although there are questions being raised about reverse discrimination and about maintaining quality.

"It's very difficult to sort out all the alliances and the subtleties. Things change so rapidly. In general, though, I believe that among the minorities there is a growing sense of the university's new relevance and response, that they are beginning to see a genuine interest in them coming from the campus. At the student level, the mood of action and participation by black and brown students is not fully accepted and understood by many whites, and some of them feel left out by the patterns of change. There is an uneasy alliance between black and brown students for tactical purposes, but they are not united, and there is very little contact between either group and the white radical students.

"There are also some signs of reaction to what the university is doing, particularly from the outside. We will be asked more and more how we can turn away qualified white students in order to have room for minority students with lesser credentials—we're on the brink of doing that now. I think we can explain it. We're dealing with a historical lag, with discrimination and rank injustice. We've been so concerned with other matters, including international education, and now we face a new demand. This is next on the agenda, and it threatens in a way that some of our earlier priorities didn't. But it's time to move, and we have to have the nerve to try new things. The basic question we face, I think, is this: Who should UCLA be educating? No one knows the answer to that yet. We have to be experimental. I don't quarrel with the idea that the university should take the top 12½ per cent, but the basis for deciding who are the top 12½ per cent is something else. We have to keep asking ourselves if we are educating the right people, and we can't answer that without some flexibility."

Charles Wilson is a black man from Mississippi with a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Illinois and a passion for institutional reconstruction. He came to UCLA last year on an American Council on Education internship for young administrators, and stayed on as assistant vice chancellor for educational planning and programs to help change the institution's racial complexion. "I fought to get through the system," he says. "Now I'm fighting both to defend it and change it. The difficulties are tremendous."

When Dr. Charles J. Hitch was made president of the statewide University of California a year ago, one of his first acts was to tell the Board of Regents, "Our nation, our state and our cities are in the grip of a crisis. It is a moral, economic, and racial crisis. It is also an educational crisis." These problems, he said, "need money, conscience, organization and answers. The University can and must help."

Dr. Hitch outlined a four-point program of research, public service, employment and student recruitment to focus the university's attention and resources on minorities and low-income groups, and to help the institution "in assuming its proper social responsibility."

That effort has come to be known as the Urban Crisis program. It is co-ordinated by Dr. Mark Ferber, a special assistant to Hitch whose previous assignment was in Washington as the university's liaison officer with the federal government. Other members of the central administrative staff and the chancellors of the nine campuses are involved in the translation of Hitch's crisis report into concrete action by the university.

UCLA'S Dr. Wilson is unhappy with the efforts of the University of California to direct things from the

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA—LOS ANGELES

1868

UCLA had 250 students when it opened in 1919 as the "Southern Branch" of the University of California. Now, 50 years later, it has some 29,000 students in 14 colleges and schools on its suburban Westwood campus. UCLA is one of nine campuses making up the statewide University of California. Each campus is semi-independent, having considerable authority vested in its chancellor and its faculty, but all nine are coordinated through a central administration and the Board of Regents, which appoints the president and chancellors of the university and sets overall policy UCLA's chancellor is Dr. Charles E. Young.

The campus of UCLA is five miles from the Pacific Ocean, a 30-minute drive from Hollywood and 45 minutes from downtown Los Angeles. More than 7 million people live in the metropolitan area, and UCLA's location gives it an enrollment which is dominantly nonresident; three-fourths of all students live away from the campus. Almost all students attend full time, however, and at the undergraduate level, fully 90 per cent of them are from California, with half the remainder from foreign countries and the other half from elsewhere in the United States. A ceiling of 27,500 students (not including medical and health sciences) has already been reached; undergraduates make up two-thirds of the total now, but over the next seven years their numbers will be reduced to half the total enrollment. Qualified applicants to UCLA in excess of the enrollment ceiling are offered space in one of the other campuses of the university. A typical budget for a California resident attending UCLA for one year is about $2,000 ($1,200 higher for out-of-state students), and in general, admission is restricted to the top 12½ per cent of California high school graduates.

UCLA has undergraduate colleges of Letters and Science, Engineering, Fine Arts, Nursing, and Public Health; it has a graduate division, and its graduate and professional schools cover the fields of medicine, dentistry, library service, architecture and urban planning, law, social welfare, public health, education, and business administration.

top through the Urban Crisis program. Its structure and specific purposes are unclear, he says, and there is confusion in the minds of many people about whether the central administration or each individual campus is in charge. UCLA has not waited for orders from headquarters, however; last summer, Chancellor Young followed up on President Hitch's urban crisis report by setting up a task force to develop a plan to guide UCLA's involvement, and in October he created the Board of Urban Research and Development (BURD), described as "a problem-solving coalition which will stimulate and encourage urban research and action programs" by UCLA. BURD is seen as the university's organizational unit to co-ordinate and facilitate all its efforts to meet the needs of racial minorities and the poor, particularly in urban areas. Dr. Wilson and Miss Park have been deeply involved with BURD, and in December Wilson issued a 142-page prospectus in behalf of the board's 15-member interim executive committee. That committee of faculty, administrators and students wants BURD to have a permanent board of university and community representatives, a separate budget, and the power to concentrate university resources in three major areas: community-based projects, student-developed programs and curricular innovation.

Some projects in these areas are already under way, and BURD's role would be to consolidate these and support them. At the same time, the agency would be starting new efforts on several fronts and using its purse power to turn up the flame under the university's research and public service ventures in the urban crisis.

In addition to BURD, which has been endorsed in the administrative channels of the university and is in the process of being formed, some special activities are already under way to increase the representation of minorities in the faculty and student body. These will be reviewed later in this report.

The kind of mission-oriented research and public service already being undertaken by UCLA would be significantly increased by BURD. The university's extension division, which has traditionally taken the classroom into the community, would enlarge its focus to include more direct service to minorities in low-income urban areas. (This would run counter to a trend of higher fees and more self-supporting extension programs.) Such a shift of priorities suggests fundamental changes in the organization of the university; these changes would be felt especially by the extension division, and by research-minded professors who disdain the notions of applied research and community service. The kinds of curriculum innovation which the BURD committee has proposed also depart from tradition; some of these are already in progress.

The task force—the forerunner to BURD—which Chancellor Young set up last summer was chaired by Dr. Wilson and included the chairman of the Academic Senate, other faculty and administrators, and four students—one from the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), one from the Black Students' Union (BSU) and one each from the two student legislative councils. They divided into three groups, each under a student chairman, and took up the issues of minority-student entry, curriculum development and community action. One of the major contributions of the curriculum group was a plan for the establishment of the Institute for the Study of American Cultures, encompassing centers on the Afro American, the Mexican American, the Oriental American and the American Indian. Both UMAS and the BSU had already developed proposals for study centers for their respective ethnic groups, and these have been advanced by BURD and are now being developed as the first units of the proposed American cultures institute.

The Black Students' Union at UCLA prepared its proposal for an Afro-American study center a year ago. The document was written by Virgil Roberts, a graduate student in political science, and three other students. It included a review of similar efforts at Berkeley, San Francisco State and Yale University, listed black scholars interested in the proposed center, outlined curriculum and library needs, and presented a budget. As described in the proposal, the activities of the center would include the following:

- Provide faculty research grants, sponsor and finance group research projects, and encourage and support interdisciplinary colloquies and symposia.
- Create and implement a black studies curriculum leading to a B.A. and an M.A. in Afro-American history and culture.
- Locate and bring into the university black scholars and intellectuals to give lectures and courses on subjects of their choice.
- Create at UCLA a major research special collection on black America.
- Maintain an interracial clinic to help mediate problems in black-white communication and cooperation.
- Plan and present an annual public lecture series on black history and culture.

The black students said in their proposal that the center "will enrich the life of every segment of the UCLA community." Specifically, they described the benefits to faculty, students and the larger society:

> For the larger University faculty, the Center will provide a point of contact with the creative forces in black America and help to correct the misimpressions and prejudices that now mar white understanding of black history and culture. The Center will also serve as a source of information and ideas that faculty members may be able to use in their own areas of special interest. It may even be able to generate among the entire faculty interest and, ultimately, direct participation in the activities of the Center.
>
> For UCLA students, the Center can meet a variety of needs. For those who intend to become part of the urban service establishment—the teachers, nurses, police officers, social workers, clinical psychologists, probation officers, parole officers, agency administrators, renewal specialists, etc.—the Center and the curriculum changes it will help to implement are especially important. . . . It is . . . imperative that all college-trained members of the urban estab-

> lishment understand the historical, sociological and cultural background of urban blacks and be sensitive to their needs.
>
> The Center's activities can also contribute significantly to the larger student body. For white students who are now awakening to the fact that their lives and values are distorted and perverted by racist attitudes, the Center will provide an avenue of understanding. . . . the Center can help white students at UCLA shake off the soul-stunting effects of white racism.
>
> To the black students of the University, the Center will be of incalculable importance. Attempting to shake off the psychologically crippling effects of cultural oppression and racial prejudice, black students need to learn of the contributions of black Americans to white culture, to see their own culture made legitimate, to understand the specific effects of white racism and black institutions on their values and attitudes. Increasingly convinced that American education and white educators have cheated them and ignored their problems, they need to see that important, powerful segments of the American education establishment share their aspirations and are eager to comply with their just demands.
>
> The value of the Center also will extend beyond the University community. The white population of the United States does not understand the "Race Problem." Most whites do not know why it exists, why it cannot be solved simply and quickly, how they can contribute to its solution, why they should be expected to do so. Most blacks do not understand the social and intellectual forces that shape their attitudes toward one another and toward whites. The questions of both populations must be answered. Concerned whites of good will must be pointed toward effective action, and blacks must be isolated from the destructive effects of cultural oppression and white racism. The knowledge that the Center will foster and disseminate can serve these vital purposes and thus contribute directly to the social regeneration that must occur if the nation is to survive the current racial crisis.

The BSU proposal, now incorporated in the larger plan for the American cultures institute, is in the process of being implemented. In January, an incident on the campus cast a shadow on the black studies center.

As about 150 black students and non-students were leaving a Friday afternoon meeting in Campbell Hall, near the center of the campus, several pistol shots were fired and two students were killed. One of the purposes of the meeting, to which all UCLA black students had been invited, was to discuss recommendations for a director of the Afro-American studies center. The two slain students, who were enrolled in an experimental special admissions program in the university, were members of the Black Panther Party. Rivalry had been reported between the Black Panthers and US, a black community organization headed by UCLA graduate Ron Karenga; the two groups were said to be competing for influence in the black studies center and in the university's Black Students' Union.

During all the turmoil on college campuses during the past three or four years, UCLA has been relatively quiet; what effect the double killing will have on the campus atmosphere and on the black studies center is unpredictable.

The Black Students' Union at UCLA has been active and influential, and apparently is gaining strength. It has not used militant confrontation as a strategy, however, and by comparison with black student organizations on some other campuses, it seems almost moderate. Its membership is estimated at roughly one-fourth of the black student population—and a crisis would probably mobilize a much larger number—but the core of active workers is said to number about 75. Larry May, a 21-year-old white student who is a senior in the university and senior editor of the *Daily Bruin*, says of the BSU: "They have gained in the past two years, while the white New Left has been on the decline. The BSU leadership changes often—their attitudes too—but they have a core of thoughtful, intelligent people who are willing to take the necessary time to use the system for their purposes. They've learned how to get what they want."

One of the central figures in the BSU is Eddie Anderson, 22, a senior philosophy major. Anderson ran for president of student government last year, and was endorsed by the *Daily Bruin*. Just before the election, a Mexican flag was desecrated at a fraternity party; Mexican-American students reacted angrily, and they were supported by the BSU. When the election was held, Anderson's opponent, a fraternity man, won by a wide margin. (Not long after the white student took office, he resigned in the aftermath of a series of *Daily Bruin* articles exposing misconduct of student government administration. In a special election the presidency was won by a member of UMAS, the Mexican-American student organization.)

The popular notion that white students are ahead of their elders on the issue of racial equity is not necessarily true at UCLA, in Anderson's opinion. "Our main gripes are not with the administration, or even with the faculty," he says, "but with the students. If they had taken some initiative a long time ago, a lot of the changes that are needed now would already have come about. There's so much to be done here, but white students aren't even asking the right questions. SDS is trying to co-opt the movement of the black and third world students. They go around renouncing money and playing poor, but I don't buy it. I never believe anyone who talks about things he hasn't experienced."

Anderson said a white student group called CASE is trying to "work on the roots of racism, in their own communities," and he approves of the idea. One or two small multiracial organizations also have been formed and are trying to make some progress in changing racial attitudes. "But we're still only a little way along the road," Anderson says, "and most of the white students just aren't with it. The faculty is not committed to fundamental change either—in many ways they're the most recalcitrant group on campus—but they get away with it because the students are so apathetic."

The Black Students' Union, according to Anderson, "is not a cohesive, monolithic structure." He says most

NEGROES AT UCLA

The fact that the university does not keep records by race makes precise assessment of racial composition impossible. A number of estimates have been made, based on voluntary surveys, visual checks and departmental inquiries, but none of these is considered fully reliable. The matter is complicated by the large number of foreign students on the UCLA campus—more than 2,500 students, scholars and short-term special students in the fall of 1968—and the cosmopolitan makeup of southern California's population. Greater Los Angeles itself has an Oriental population of some 150,000, a Negro population more than four times that large, the biggest concentration of Mexican-Americans outside Mexico City and the largest population of American Indians living anywhere outside a reservation. On the basis of an ethnic survey conducted in the fall of 1968, with adjustments to account for conflicting data and additional information, the following rounded-off figures may be reasonably close to the actual enrollment by race at UCLA last fall:

Total Enrollment:	29,000	(19,000 undergraduates, 10,000 graduate and professional school students)
U.S. Citizens:	26,800	92.4 per cent
Foreign Students:	2,200	7.6
of U.S. Citizens:		
Caucasian:	23,400	80.7
Oriental:	2,000	7.0
American Negro:	800	2.7
Mexican-American:	500	1.7
American Indian:	100	0.3

Of the approximately 800 black Americans, about 500 are undergraduates (2.6 per cent of the total) and 300 are in graduate and professional studies (3 per cent of all students in those programs). No data can be obtained on the number of freshmen by race or the number of degree recipients by race, nor are figures available on attrition rates or on geographic origin of students by race. It is assumed that almost all of the black undergraduate students are from California, since less than 5 per cent of all undergraduates are from other states; at the graduate level, past patterns and recent recruitment efforts indicate that close to half of the 300 black students are from outside California, most of them from Negro colleges concentrated in the South. Statistics compiled in the Graduate Division show that most black students in advanced studies are concentrated in education (35), law (30), Social Welfare (15), and about a dozen each in business administration, political science and public administration, public health, and mathematics. No breakdown of this kind is available for undergraduate students.

Like the other campuses of the University of California, UCLA is permitted to take up to 4 per cent of its new students each year as exceptions to the regular admission requirements. Many of the students thus admitted are part of the Equal Opportunity Program, which provides a variety of supports to economically and educationally disadvantaged students, a majority of whom were eligible for admission to the university. Under these and other special programs at all levels, about 350 black students are included. The black enrollment before any of these programs were started three years ago was somewhere near 400, perhaps less.

Under the special admission rule (changed this year from 2 per cent to 4 per cent), UCLA admitted eight EOP students in 1966, 62 in 1967 and 74 this year. On the basis of freshman and transfer enrollment figures, more than 300 students could be specially admitted. Until this year, the special admission rule was used more for athletes and other students than for EOP students.

In 1958, UCLA appointed a Negro to a full-time faculty position for the first time. In 1966, there were about seven black faculty members. This year, the number stands at 16, out of more than 1,200 persons holding full-time, faculty-rank positions.

black students commute, and "only two or three" belong to fraternities and sororities. Some white students say there is pressure on black students to belong to BSU, but Anderson disagrees: "It's like a bus ride—we all get off at different places, and some of us are even on the wrong bus." Talks with other black students and casual observation around the campus tend to bear him out. Black students can be found clustered together in the cafeteria, or sitting on the terrace talking to whites; you can hear a Black Panther speaking from a platform in front of the union building at noon, and listen the same evening to a black graduate student saying he has no use for militancy and objects to much that is said and done by black militants. Lew Alcindor, the star of UCLA's national champion basketball team, comes across in a campus newspaper article as something of a moderate; elsewhere on the campus there are visible threads of separatism and black nationalism.

Yet for all this diversity, there is enough unity among black students to make them an effective catalyst, as the black studies center and the special recruitment and admissions programs clearly show. The same is true of the Mexican-American students.

White students, on the other hand, appear to be poorly organized. Peter Wilson, a 25-year-old graduate student in education, characterizes white attitudes toward blacks as "unconsciously racist." Wilson, who is white, says there is a small group of white students who are "desirous of change and willing to work for it," and another small group "who represent the racist status quo." The mass of students in the middle, he says, "are uninformed, uncaring and uninvolved." The left wing, by all accounts, has never been as strong at UCLA as at Berkeley, and aside from the CASE organization is now said to be fragmented and ineffective. Says Larry May of the *Daily Bruin*: "The nearest thing to real trouble we've had was a demonstration against Dow Chemical in 1967. One of the leaders of that was seen in the placement center not long ago—he was clean, he had shaved his beard, and he was looking for a job."

CASE—the Committee for Awareness in Social Education—was formed after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King. Two of its leaders, John Donaldson and Richard Woolman, say it was started by "white liberals with guilt feelings," but now is a mixture of "those fighting the establishment nonviolently, those willing to go to jail and those ready to man the barricades." The original purpose was to combat racism in the white society; now, say Donaldson and Woolman, "we're shifting to larger issues." Wherever that shift leads, it does not appear now to be moving in the same direction as BSU or UMAS. "They want more access to the university," says Donaldson. "They're after degrees and professionalism. They want in, they want part of the pie; what we're saying is, we don't like the pie."

The BSU has sought no white alliances in its efforts to get part of the pie, or to change the recipe. The black students have gone directly to the administration with their grievances, and they have found enough open doors there so far to keep the lid on serious trouble. In addition to BURD and the black studies center, the university has made other changes, particularly to increase the numbers of minority students and faculty.

There are about 800 black students at UCLA now—double the number three years ago. The Educational Opportunity Program, which will be described later, has been responsible for a large part of the increase. The financial, housing and tutorial supports available through EOP are assisting more than 200 black undergraduate students (and about 500 other minority and low-income students) this year; most of them were academically eligible for admission, but some were specially admitted.

Another 100 undergraduates—50 blacks and 50 Mexican-Americans—were enrolled last fall in the High Potential Program, an experimental effort to build an educational halfway house between the university and the ghettos for bright students lacking the usual credentials for higher education. Using small-group instruction by non-academicians from the same ethnic background as the students, the program teaches English as a second language, ethnic history and mathematics to a group of 17- to 31-year-old students and attempts to move them in stages into the regular curriculum. The High Potential Program is financed by the university; the idea for it originated with black and Mexican-American students who were part of the task force set up by Chancellor Young last summer to increase university involvement in urban problems.

The EOP, the High Potential Program and other special programs in the university, such as Upward Bound, are headed by Mrs. Mary Jane Hewitt, who was appointed last fall as the university's director of special educational programs, succeeding Kenneth Washington. Mrs. Hewitt has been at UCLA since 1955, in the extension division. "I know this university well," she says, "—its strong points and its weaknesses." That knowledge, her fluency in Spanish and the fact that she is black make her especially well suited for her job, and she approaches it with visible self-assurance. Of the university's efforts to reach minorities she says: "If we can avoid a blowup, we'll be a national leader in this area. I don't know a more challenging or exciting job than this."

At the graduate level, new programs in education, law and business administration have begun to raise the black and brown enrollments in those areas. Professor Sol Cohen in the Graduate School of Education says that until a year ago, "The whole problem of race and class in education was pretty remote in this college." The death of Martin Luther King and the emergence of BSU and UMAS changed the climate, he says; funds for recruitment and financial aid were made available, and last fall 12 black and eight brown students were brought in, along with three minority faculty members. Before that, only a dozen or so students (out of 3,000) and one faculty member were Negroes or Mexican-Americans.

The School of Education got out of the undergraduate teacher training field about five years ago to concentrate on research and high-level training for educational leaders. It has a prestigious faculty; Cohen says some of its senior members are "parochial, uninterested in racial and urban problems, and resistant to change." The future direction of the school, he says, "is undecided. The whole thing is in a state of flux. The dean (Dr. John Goodlad) wants to move in the right direction, but our curriculum remains unchanged. We don't have much time, and we're still arguing. We've had a period of grace while the black and brown students have been concerned at the undergraduate level. I'd like to think we're using the time constructively."

The law school has pursued minority students vigorously. Assistant Dean Anthony McDermott, a black man, heads a recruitment program which brought in 11 black and 3 brown students in the fall of 1967 and 39 more last fall. Before the program began, there were 2 blacks among the 600 students in the school. The students get financial assistance, and the criteria for their admission are their undergraduate academic records, letters of recommendation, samples of written work, and personal interviews. The standardized aptitude test normally used as the principal criterion is administered to the special applicants, but no importance is attached to the scores they receive.

In the Graduate School of Business Administration, a program of recruiting and financial aid has brought in 11 black students and 2 Mexican-Americans this year, and the school has said it is trying to increase minority students and faculty "rapidly and massively."

Dr. Horace W. Magoun, dean of the UCLA Graduate Division, has been pushing for a higher proportion of minority students for several years. With funds from the Danforth Foundation, an equal opportunity program for master's degree candidates was started, and the university now uses funds from its own and other sources to finance about 40 fellowships a year at the master's level and 20 others for doctoral candidates. Mrs. Hazel Love, a black woman, co-ordinates the program of recruitment and financial aid. Dean Magoun is critical of what he calls "the caste system of most graduate departments," and he thinks there are signs that the exclusiveness of some of these departments is decreasing. At UCLA, he says, "there are a few faculty members in each department who support the recruitment of minority students."

One final measurement of the extent to which UCLA is attempting to change its racial and social construction is provided by the issue of faculty recruitment. Last November, in a report to the UCLA Academic Senate, Chancellor Young reviewed the programs of research, public service, student recruitment and curriculum development which were in motion "in response to the changing demands society is making on the urban university." He added, "we must, in my view, intensify our efforts, especially in the area of recruitment of faculty from minority groups," and he proposed a program to that end.

The program, in essence, called for a concerted effort to recruit "the maximum number of thoroughly qualified" faculty members from minority groups. No specific number was mentioned, but Assistant Vice Chancellor Charles Wilson, in an earlier memorandum to Chancellor Young, had suggested as a four-year goal "an increase from approximately 10 to 150" black and Mexican-American faculty. (The actual number of black faculty at UCLA this year is 16.) In addition to the search for "thoroughly qualified" people, Young proposed to the Academic Senate that certain persons with incomplete academic credentials be hired to fill provisional roles while they complete the necessary additional study to become qualified for regular appointment; he also suggested a reversal of the standard practice by which Ph.D. graduates of UCLA are not normally considered for faculty appointment there.

The chancellor's proposals were put to a mail ballot of the Academic Senate in two modified but similar resolutions. About 1,200 faculty members are qualified by rank to be voting members of the senate; just over half that number voted on the minority recruitment issue. The resolution considered most favorable to minority recruitment was approved by a vote of 417 to 238.

The margin of less than 2 to 1 in support of vigorous enlistment of minority-group candidates for the faculty suggests that a sizable number of professors are opposed to the idea. Some of that opposition was expressed in senate debate, and three arguments against the resolutions were circulated with other materials mailed with the ballot. These objections were:

- That "racial discrimination, whether reverse, compensatory, or old-fashioned, is both illegal and immoral."
- That "the race to hire qualified minority-group faculty is proceeding apace and needs no resolution to speed it."
- That "the race to hire unqualified minority-group faculty fails to provide adequate safeguards against their being retained, if they prove unable or unwilling to qualify themselves. They are likely, therefore, to weaken the quality of the UCLA faculty."

There is an unanswered question whether recruitment of minorities would be in violation of state and federal laws against discrimination in hiring. Perhaps even more formidable than this, however, are some philosophical and intellectual questions as fundamental as these: Is reverse discrimination immoral? How else can racial inequities be eliminated? How valid are the credentials used to certify academicians? Can certified academicians also be unqualified? What does qualified mean?

These are some of the questions being debated at UCLA and at many other universities, and they do

"The Land-Grant Act of 100 years ago established the principle that the stockholders of state universities are the people. When there's clear evidence that a large segment of your stockholders have not been getting their share of the dividends, you're in trouble—and that's where we are right now."

not by any means encompass all of the complex ramifications of the issue. The social and economic advantage of being white is a fact of history; any institution which seriously attempts to erase that advantage seems certain to find more questions than answers and more problems than solutions.

By most accounts, Chancellor Charles Young has handled UCLA's official response to race and class problems with finesse. He gets approval from many people similar to that expressed by the student who said the chancellor was "leading UCLA into the vanguard of American higher education by dealing with racial and urban problems the way he is." Young has the support of a strong cadre of administrators, he apparently has considerable faculty support, and he appears popular with students.

But the financial, political and philosophical restraints on further acceleration of equal opportunity at UCLA are visible and audible. Young told the faculty last fall:

> I believe that on the whole the response of the faculty, students and administration of this campus to our over-all efforts has been exceptionally supportive. At the same time, however, I recognize that the best possible response on the part of the University will be neither sufficiently large nor prompt to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of many among us, who cannot and should not be satisfied until all traces of inequality of treatment and opportunity disappear.
>
> It is inevitable, then, that tension will exist between our hopes and our accomplishments—between those who press for change and those whose task it is to bring it about. The most difficult job facing all of us today is to keep that tension and mistrust at an absolute minimum in order to reduce the gap between aspiration and achievement.

The tension and mistrust seem heightened in a state like California, where the extremes of right and left and the contentions of rich and poor, young and old, Democrat and Republican, urban and rural—plus the separate and intermingled cultures of white, black, brown, yellow and red—reach a confluence on the campuses of colleges and universities. So far, UCLA has managed to stay afloat in those currents.

In its response to black Americans and other racial minorities, UCLA is in the early stages of what it has said will be a sustained and substantial attack on inequality. In some areas, that response is bringing quick and impressive returns; in others, it has hardly been noticeable. But almost everywhere, there is a consciousness of race and a sense of uncertainty about the future. Chancellor Young mentioned the tensions between "those who press for change and those whose task it is to bring it about." On the issue of race, there is a third dimension in that stress; for financial, political, academic, traditional and other reasons, there are those who question the wisdom of change, who oppose it, resist it and fear it. The UCLA administration is wedged between the advocates and the opponents of racial and social change.

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Massive as the University of California is, with more than 98,000 students on nine campuses, it is not the largest higher education complex in the country; in fact, it is not even the largest in California. A separate system of 18 state colleges has about 265,000 students, and a network of some 80 junior colleges—the third level of public higher education in the state—enrolls well over 300,000 students. California is now the largest state in the union—its population has almost doubled since 1950, and is nearing 20 million, about 10 per cent of the national total—but the size of the state does not in itself explain the size of its public higher education systems: of the 4.7 million students in the nation's public colleges and universities, almost 15 per cent of them are in California. Like almost everything else in the Golden State, higher education is big—very big indeed.

The university is highly selective and competitive. It accepts the top 12½ per cent of California high school graduates, based on a complex formula of standardized test scores and high school grades in certain specified subjects. It costs about $2,000 a year (three quarters) for a California resident to attend; nonresident students are charged an additional $1,200. The costs and the competition hold down out-of-state enrollment; about 95 per cent of all entering freshmen are from California. Further pressure is exerted on undergraduate students because the university is shifting to a concentration on graduate studies.

The intense competition for spaces in the undergraduate student body has given the University of California a rather homogeneous student population. Some 4,500 foreign students and an equal number of Californians of Oriental descent give a cosmopolitan appearance, but the overwhelming majority of students are white, affluent, well-schooled Californians who have survived the pressures of preparing to enter their state university.

California's population is about 80 per cent white, 11 per cent Mexican-American, 7 per cent Negro and 2 per cent Oriental; a fraction of a per cent of American Indians also lives there, giving the state a cosmopolitan population representing all five major racial groups. The university's enrollment has never reflected this diversity; two years ago, its student body (excluding foreign students) was 93 per cent white and 5 per cent Oriental, with Negroes, Mexican-Americans and Indians making up the other 2 per cent. There has been some change since then, but not enough to reflect a percentage shift of more than one or two points.

Racial patterns are also closely related to socio-economic patterns. A 1967 survey conducted by the university showed that the $10,000-and-up income bracket, which includes 20 per cent of all Californians, produced 58 per cent of the state's high school graduates that year, and 73 per cent of the graduates eligible to enter the university. But Californians in the below-$4,000 income class—about one-third of the population—produced only 5 per cent of the high school graduates, and just 2.5 per cent of the graduates eligible to enroll in the university.

These statistics show that the University of California's exacting academic standards have had the effect of excluding all but a relative handful of Negroes and Mexican-Americans—and all but a very low percentage of the poor, whatever their race. The university has never been segregated by law—two of its most illustrious alumni, both graduates of UCLA, are Ralph Bunche and Jackie Robinson—but for economic and academic reasons, it has been segregated in fact.

President Charles Hitch's Urban Crisis program represents the central effort of the statewide university complex to address racial and social problems. Here is a report on racial considerations in the university's central administration headquarters in Berkeley:

- *Research.* A survey of current and planned research relevant to urban-racial-social problems turned up a list of projects funded from a variety of sources at a level of $16 million a year. Hitch has outlined a plan calling for the state to provide an additional $4 million for mission-oriented research and public service in 1969-70, with federal and foundation funds providing another $4 million, for a total of $24 million next year. Part of the crisis apparently will be finding the money. In Gov. Ronald Reagan's budget, less than 15 per cent of the $4 million was requested from the legislature.

As a start toward the generation and co-ordination of a special effort in this area, a committee under one of the university's vice presidents is functioning as a sort of in-house Ford Foundation, reviewing proposals and making grants to researchers throughout the university. A special appropriation from the Board of Regents provided the initial outlay of funds, which were parceled out for such projects as a study of the effect of law on the poor, a migrant farm workers' mobile health service, a program of teacher training for minority teacher aides, and a program of business development in the ghetto.

- *Public Service.* Some of the projects to be funded by the research committee are essentially public service activities. In addition, efforts are being made to adapt some programs of the agricultural extension service to urban areas. Community service and continuing education—the latter through extension centers operated by the several campuses—are being stepped up.
- *Employment.* The university has almost 60,000 full-time and part-time employees, including close to 5,000 full-time assistant, associate and full professors. An informal canvass of the 5,000 professors of various ranks last year turned up a total of 18 Negroes. Apparently, no statistics on the racial composition of the total staff are available. A new position has been created in President Hitch's office to co-ordinate fair employment practices and stimulate minority hiring. California law restricts record-keeping by race; without such records, the university cannot get an accurate measure of the racial makeup of its staff.
- *Student recruitment.* Again, the lack of records makes assessment difficult. Voluntary racial surveys are taken at each fall's registration. This year's statistics indicate that 1,975 of the total full-time enrollment of 94,900 are black Americans.

Since 1960, the chancellors of the university's campuses have had authority to admit up to 2 per cent of each year's new students by "special action." This has meant that a small number of students who did not meet the stiff entrance requirements could be admitted. Borderline cases, athletes and others filled most of these slots. In 1965, the Educational Opportunity Program was started for 100 low-income and minority-group students, some of them brought in under the 2 per cent rule, and by 1967 that program was expanded to include 1,090 students. This year, the state has increased the 2 per cent rule to 4 per cent, with the extra 2 per cent exclusively for students in the Educational Opportunity Program. A total of 2,248 students are in EOP this year. They include continuing students from previous years, new freshmen and transfers this year, and a small number of graduate students; all of the students are either economically or educationally disadvantaged, or both, but almost half of them met the university's admission requirements and were not enrolled by special action under the 4 per cent rule.

The EOP students are recruited, admitted, given academic and personal counseling and provided with whatever tutoring, housing and financial aid they need. Financial aid for EOP students this year is more than $3.7 million. Ethnic distribution of the EOP undergraduate students shows 918 blacks, 500 browns (Mexican-American), 217 Orientals, 147 whites, 16 American Indians and 150 unidentified. No breakdown is available on the 300 EOP graduate students.

One of the most encouraging results of the EOP effort is that more than 1,000 students who were eligible for admission but lacked the funds or the information to get into the university have been sought out, recruited and enrolled. For the ones who have been specially admitted—and for those who will enter by that route in the future—the rigorous academic requirements of the university and the limits of the 4 per cent rule are likely to keep their numbers relatively low. And for all present and future EOP students, the shortage of financial aid funds is a serious limitation. A cutback this year in federal student aid funds will be particularly costly.

While these efforts of the University of California to correct racial and social inequities have been taking shape, some less hopeful cross currents have been gaining intensity. Higher education in the state has been in turmoil more or less continuously since the Free Speech Movement began at Berkeley in 1964. In the past year or so, at least a dozen campuses of the university, the state colleges, the junior colleges and private institutions in California have been rocked by protests ranging from nonviolent demonstrations to bombing and arson. Much of this activity is directly related to racial problems, but not all of it. In the university alone, angry arguments involving students, faculty, the administration, the Board of Regents, Gov. Ronald Reagan, the legislature and large numbers of citizens have produced a babble of voices, a confusion of issues and a serious polarization of attitudes—and all this says nothing about the crises at places like San Francisco State College, the College of San Mateo and Stanford University.

Last December, the University of California's Urban Crisis program was to have sponsored a statewide conference on equal access to higher education. The conference was planned as a full-scale effort to involve virtually every public and private institution in the state in a co-operative assault on racial and socio-economic inequality. The University of San Francisco, a private institution, was to have been the site of the three-day meeting. Programs were printed, invitations went out, live television coverage was arranged.

The conference was canceled. The Berkeley campus was in an uproar over a course on racism in which Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver was invited to lecture, San Francisco State was virtually shut down by strikes and violence, the California electorate had voted down a proposal for $250 million in new higher education construction projects, buildings had been seized at other campuses, and the black and brown communities in San Francisco were agitated and tense. The atmosphere was so volatile that the conference was called off, and it has not been rescheduled.

That volatile atmosphere still lingers. Race is not the only ingredient, but it is a major one, and in the congeries of shifting emotions, alliances and strategies the University of California is struggling to put its racial responsibilities in focus. Comments from three men involved in that effort at the administrative level indicate how difficult the job is.

Mark Ferber, President Hitch's assistant who is coordinating the Urban Crisis Program: "If we do tomorrow what the militants say we should have done yesterday, we'll still be in trouble. The realization that it will take much longer than that to correct our systemic ills is enough to make even an optimist wonder if there's still time. But until every last vestige of racism in society is removed and the underlying causes are eliminated, the demands being made by minorities will be essentially healthy, no matter how crass or irrational.

"There are many things this university can do to make it more accessible and more of a public servant. We've always done mission-oriented things for well-heeled clients, whether it's designing weapons systems or educating citizens of other countries. We've developed better strains of grapes, and machines to pick them; now we have to heed the anguish of the hand pickers.

"The Urban Crisis program is not going to be a new empire or a new bureaucracy. I'm not the university's answer man or money man in the field of urban affairs. This is President Hitch's program, in a sense, and he will give a lot of attention to it, but it is a decentralized effort; the chancellor of each campus has the primary responsibility for his institution's activities, and vice presidents in the central administration are organizing university-wide programs. Our role is to co-ordinate these things, not to run them or rule them."

Enos Baker, a 30-year-old black man, is one of two assistants to Ferber. Baker was with the Poor People's Campaign in Washington last year, and perhaps because of that experience he has no serious quarrel with the way the Urban Crisis office is set up. "We don't want to be a large administrative unit," he says. "It's harder to see where we are this way, but it keeps a lot more people involved, and we're not bogged down with operating procedures, guidelines and policies." As to the task facing the university and his own role in it, Baker says:

"This university has been above the battle on social issues. It is now shifting its priority to graduate studies, and with the ceiling on enrollment, the stiffness of academic requirements and rising costs, I don't see it changing radically as far as enrollment of blacks and other minorities is concerned. But in the area of public service and community involvement, its response to the urban crisis can be a lot more dramatic. That means getting the faculty out of the towers and getting the university into a servant role. I'm not baby-sitting for the University of California; I'm a black man, and the best way I can be of service is to be knowledgeable of the university and its possibilities. Many whites see the emergence of minorities and the poor as a threat to the quality and the traditions of the university. Many blacks, on the other hand, see the whole Urban Crisis thing as a farce; they see racism as innate in society, and the university as the godhead of that racism. Reality has to be somewhere between these two points of view. The white man has the technology, and the black man has the soul, the humane qualities; with the right attitudes, they could make a great combination."

Vice President John W. Oswald left the presidency of the University of Kentucky this year to return to

the University of California, where he had previously served. By Kentucky standards he was a liberal and a controversial figure; in the California context, he is a mild and moderate man.

"Universities have helped to create the urban crisis," says Oswald, "by solving rural problems over the past century and contributing to the flow of unemployed people to the cities. We used to talk about how we were ahead of the Russians in agriculture, and we tiptoed around the urban crisis. Now it's exploding, and we have to get involved and be prepared to take our lumps. We have to find ways to achieve equality of access while maintaining and improving the quality of output at the same time. The Land-Grant Act of 100 years ago established the principle that the stockholders of state universities are the people. When there's clear evidence that a large segment of your stockholders have not been getting their share of the dividends, you're in trouble—and that's where we are right now."

The University of California is indeed in trouble. Three of its most ominous problems grow out of its budget crisis, political dissension and student militancy. All of these would be critical even if its relationships with minorities and the poor were unassailable—and they are not. On the other hand, the university's race and class difficulties would be serious even if its students were happy, its budget was sound and its political fences were mended. These are all separate problems, in a sense, but each one affects the others, and it does not seem possible that they can be solved independently. ○

WAYNE STATE:

High Octane in Motown

Noah Brown Jr. is a balding, barrel-chested black man who spends a lot of his time getting people into college—black people, mostly, but not exclusively. He grew up in the Black Bottom, a ghetto on Detroit's east side, and after World War II he went to Wayne State University to play basketball and get a degree in education. Later on, he coached there, and earned a master's degree. Now, he is Wayne's director of Special Student Service Programs, running half a dozen projects that bring low-income and minority-group students into the university.

Noah Brown is what they call in the world of athletics a great competitor. He avoids using the word "can't," and tells students not to use it. He works 16-hour days. He is an irrepressible evangelist for equal opportunity. "College may not be for everybody," he says, "but we don't know who it's *not* for, and I don't know of any evidence that it ever hurt anybody." So he weaves in and out among militants and middle class blacks, nervous administrators and reluctant professors, running interference for ghetto youngsters, all the while talking about "weathering reality together" and "getting people to be honest." He is selling the kids on Wayne, and Wayne on the kids, and he never stops: "You say it's a drop in the bucket? Maybe there's another Martin Luther King in there, or a Charles Drew, or somebody ready to unravel cancer."

Wayne State University, encircled by one of the largest concentrations of black Americans in the country, is trying to "weather the reality" of racial and social inequality in an urban metropolis. In the past two years, the university's commitment to equal opportunity has been increased; it is engaged on a number of fronts, and while assessments of its progress are mixed, some major segments of the Wayne community appear to be taking to heart a maxim that Noah Brown likes to quote: "Go as fast as you can, go as slow as you must, but go. And don't run scared."

Not everyone agrees that Wayne State is going as fast as it can—or even that it is moving in the right direction—and it may not be possible for it to keep from running scared, but it is moving, and a big part of what propels it is black power, in a variety of octanes. Noah Brown's black power is one kind. These are some other black Americans whose influence is being felt at Wayne:

- Lonnie Peek, 26, a graduate student in the School of Social Work and president of the Association of Black Students. The ABS is in the process of creating an institute of black studies; whether it will be part of the university or completely separate from it is undetermined.
- Dr. Oliver H. Osborne, an anthropologist and an associate professor of psychiatric nursing in the College of Nursing. After two years at the university, he is leaving. "The presence of black students in large numbers here has brought to a head institutional ills that go far deeper than race," he says. "But the faculty is insulated from these ills by their disciplines, by tenure and bureaucracy and mindset."
- Conrad Mallett, director of a new program of city extension centers and formerly executive secretary to Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh. "Wayne has always had a lot of black students," Mallett says. "In its own context, I would say it is doing a good job—not an excellent one. Ten years ago I would have called this much effort excellent—but this is 1969. A great deal more has to be done."
- Hartford Smith Jr., an assistant professor in the School of Social Work. Smith says he sees the university "making a good effort in the direction of response to black urban America. I'm not very disturbed about the administration right now, but the big problem is with the faculty. They need to become more sensitive. As a whole, they're not mentally prepared to address themselves to this problem."
- Phyllis Rose, an undergraduate student who is not only black and female but wheelchair-bound as well, and who makes assets of all three characteristics. She runs a junior high school tutoring program in a black neighborhood, using black tutors from the university. Of Wayne she says, "It offers many things black students couldn't get anywhere else."
- Mrs. Margaret Ashworth, director of Wayne's Teacher Corps project, on leave from the Detroit school system. She is principally responsible for the establishment of an Afro-American curriculum center in the School of Education and the development of a black history and culture curriculum for elementary schools.
- John Watson, editor of Wayne's student newspaper, *The South End*. Watson has turned the paper into a "revolutionary" sheet. Harry Clark, the co-editor, says, "We're defiant, we're blatant, you know where we stand. We reject so-called objective journalism."
- Murray E. Jackson, assistant dean of students. He is a central figure in an effort to establish a two-year community college in Detroit, and is on leave from Wayne this year to serve as executive secretary of the college's board of trustees. Jackson came to Wayne 20 years ago as a student. "I was tolerated," he says, "and it was a little better for me than for most Negroes, because I was an athlete. The university has grown up a heck of a lot since then."
- Gilbert Maddox, director of a statewide training program for anti-poverty workers and producer of a weekly television program by and for the black community. "I don't see any genuine will on the part of the general faculty here to commit its expertise to the solution of urban and racial problems," Maddox says. "This is still a class-oriented, ingrown university, hung up on basic research and the prestige syndrome."
- Dr. Charles C. Vincent, assistant professor of obstetrics and gynecology in the School of Medicine. "There are about 400 black doctors in Detroit," he says, "and many of them are natives of this city, but very few of them went to medical school at Wayne. Wayne has a bad reputation because of this. We've got a new dean now, and I think the picture is going to change, but it's going to be a big job."

The list could go on. More than 3,300 of Wayne's students and about 42 members of its full-time faculty are black Americans, and they range over the entire spectrum of academic, economic, social and political categories. Yet the university remains predominantly white, from its eight-member Board of Governors through its faculty and student body to its nonacademic work force of more than 2,200 persons. In a report last fall on Wayne's involvement in the inner city, this self-portrait was sketched:

> When measured against need, Wayne's involvement appears contradictory: laudable but inadequate; high quality but parochial; extensive in breadth but insufficient in depth; penetrating but not widely applicable.
>
> . . . . Most recent data on Wayne's [total work force] indicate an overall black-to-white ratio still below the reality of the black-white mix in Detroit's population. While Wayne has a greater number of Negro faculty members than most other major urban universities in the U.S., the number falls short of Wayne's own expectations and desires. What is clear is that it is less difficult to desire than to acquire more black faculty.
>
> The number of Negro students enrolled at Wayne, while again not an accurate measure of the black college-age population in and around Detroit, still provides some indication of progress. . . .
>
> . . . . But if Wayne contributes its expertise to the resolution of urban problems, this expertise is too often solicited or applied only during crisis situations. The problems themselves remain, seemingly unmanageable and steadily worsening.

The university's concern with the problems at its doorstep—and with its own complicity in those problems—has grown with increasing acceleration since 1963. Four benchmarks of that rising concern were these:

- In 1963, Wayne became the first educational institution in the country to join Plans for Progress, an equal employment opportunity program started by the Kennedy Administration. Under the program, Wayne pledged nondiscrimination in all employment, including that of firms contracting with the university.
- In 1965, Dr. William Rea Keast, academic vice president of Cornell University, became president of Wayne.
- In 1967, the worst civil riot in modern U.S. history raged for a week almost within sight of the Wayne

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

Five Detroit doctors are credited with starting what is now Wayne State University when they opened the Detroit Medical College in 1868. David Mackenzie, a high school principal, started a pre-medical course for the college in 1913, and that was elevated to junior college status in 1917 and became the College of the City of Detroit in 1923. The Detroit Board of Education ran the college, and over the years it created or absorbed higher education programs in other fields, including education, pharmacy, law and engineering. In 1933, the Board of Education merged the various schools to form Wayne University, but it remained under the leadership of the superintendent of schools until 1945, when its chief administrative officer was given the title of president. Wayne remained a municipal university until 1956, when it was taken over by the state and renamed Wayne State University. Its eight-member Board of Governors is elected statewide to staggered, eight-year terms; the president of the university is also a member of the board, *ex officio*. Dr. William Rea Keast has been the university's president since 1965.

Wayne State has 11 colleges and schools, covering the fields of education, engineering, liberal arts, nursing, pharmacy, medicine, law, social work and business administration. Its 172-acre campus is located near downtown Detroit, and its buildings are a mixture of modern architecture and renovated hotels, homes and stores. A total of 33,177 students enrolled for credit courses last fall—20,176 of them were full-time students—and only about 500 of them lived in university housing. The cost for a year (three quarters) of study is $411 for Michigan residents and $1,050 for nonresidents. Scholastic Aptitude Test scores and high school grades are the chief determinants of admission; in general, an SAT score of about 870 and a high school grade average above C will satisfy admission requirements. The average SAT score for entering freshmen this year was about 970.

More than 1,600 of Wayne's students are from other countries—a majority are Canadians who commute from Ontario, just across the Detroit River. For the student body as a whole, more than 90 per cent commute from homes in the Detroit metropolitan area, and Wayne's regular schedule of classes runs from 7:30 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. daily to accommodate them. A large majority of the students come from families with incomes under $10,000. A sizable majority also have jobs, and $3.4 million in financial aid administered by the university is being received by more than 6,000 students this year.

Michigan's population is nearing 9 million, about 10 per cent of them Negroes. The Detroit metropolitan area, with more than 3.5 million people, is about 20 per cent Negro, and the city of Detroit itself has about 1.5 million people, approximately 42 per cent of whom are black.

campus; 42 people died, 4,000 were arrested and property damage exceeded $200 million.

- In 1969, the promise of new efforts being started to increase the university's involvement in the inner city rises side by side with the threat of black extremism and white backlash.

What follows is a report on some of the programs, progress and problems at Wayne as they appeared to a visitor in a January week of 1969.

In terms of either numbers or percentages—or both—Wayne State University may have more Negro students than any other predominantly white university in the country. Even among the traditionally Negro colleges and universities, no more than six or eight have more black students than Wayne. More than one-third of all Negroes enrolled in the 70 public and private colleges and universities in Michigan attend Wayne. Altogether, 10 per cent of Wayne's students are black Americans.

In the faculty and administration, the percentages are considerably lower. Of approximately 1,200 persons holding full-time faculty-rank positions (instructor through full professor), 42 are Negroes, including 6 full professors, 8 associates, 18 assistants and 10 instructors. In 1963, 18 Negroes were on the full-time faculty. In the 62 top administrative positions in the university, there are four Negroes. Blacks make up 3.5 per cent of the faculty and 6 per cent of the top administration.

Nonacademic employment records show a greater racial distribution than those of any other category. More than 2,200 persons—office workers, technicians, maintenance and service personnel, custodians, skilled tradesmen—work for Wayne. More than 600 of them—about 27 per cent—are Negroes. In 1963, Negroes made up about 22 per cent of the nonacademic work force.

Many of the functions of a university do not fit neatly into the general categories of teaching, research and service. For the purposes of this report, an arbitrary division is made between the various programs of formal, on-campus instruction for credit and a number of programs which are part of Wayne's outreach to the urban community. Some of these outreach programs are reviewed first.

Until 1964, Wayne State's extension programs were scattered and unco-ordinated. That year, the Division of Urban Extension was formed. Under the direction of Dean Hamilton Stillwell, the division offers off-campus credit courses, co-ordinates federally funded community service and continuing education programs, conducts training institutes for teachers of adult basic education, manages an interracial summer arts festival, and operates two other special programs:

- The Applied Management and Technology Center, designed to train industrial employes for management and technological jobs through afternoon, evening and Saturday classes in several central locations. Before the Detroit riots, less than 5 per cent of the AMTC enrollment was Negro; last fall, about 20 per cent of the 3,000 employes seeking to upgrade their skills through the program were Negroes.
- City Extension Centers. Over the next several years, Wayne plans to open about 10 community-based extension centers; the first of these was opened this spring in an old drugstore rented and refurbished by the university in the heart of the east side ghetto area of Detroit. Conrad Mallett, former aide to Detroit's mayor and a graduate of Wayne, is director of the centers. The plans call for "halfway house" instruction leading to entry in the university and other kinds of instruction requested by the community. A small staff, augmented by personnel from other colleges, from public and private agencies and from the neighborhood, will attempt to offer a variety of services: tutoring, block clubs, meeting rooms, an information center, ombudsman advice and assistance, citizen education, legal counsel, child-care seminars and the like. "This is a conscious effort to relate to the community," says Mallett. "Most black people see the university experience for blacks as a four-year weaning from the community. People who go through it return only as representatives of institutions in the power structure. We want to change that."

The University Center for Adult Education (UCAE), sponsored jointly by Wayne, the University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan University, provides noncredit, nondegree instruction for about 10,000 people a year in three Michigan cities. UCAE is tied administratively to the Division of Urban Extension. One of its projects is the Area Training and Technical Assistance Center (ATTAC), which has been the principal training agency for antipoverty program leaders and workers throughout Michigan since 1966. The director of ATTAC, Gilbert Maddox, is also executive producer of CPT, a weekly television program by, for and about black people, shown on Detroit's educational television channel.

The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, operated jointly by Wayne and the University of Michigan, is another form of institutional outreach to the urban community. The institute conducts applied research and training programs aimed at the problems of unemployment, underemployment, manpower development and fair employment practices. The institute also trains instructors, supervisors and administrators of job-training programs and operates a labor school—an instructional program in labor-management relations and liberal-arts education. About 700 unionists attend classes in the school each week, taking either short-term skill and technique courses or two-year liberal arts instruction. About 40 per cent of the union members enrolled are Negroes.

The Detroit NAACP initiated a program of consumer research and education about two years ago. A council of citizens in the inner city was formed to run the program, and other organizations were brought into the project. At the council's urging, Wayne got a federal grant to fund it. The program, still operated by the council, is also supported by labor and religious organizations; instruction in buying habits and practices is given two nights a week to people who, according to Mrs. Roberta McBride, "have been the victims of discrimination and fraudulent sales." Mrs. McBride, who co-ordinates the instructional program, is education chairman of the Wayne County AFL-CIO and librarian in Wayne State's Labor History Archives.

By whatever name—continuing education, adult education, university extension—the instructional outreach of higher education offers a potentially powerful means of attacking problems of race, class and urbanization. This function of colleges and universities has been inadequately covered in the case studies in this report. Programs such as "A Black Look at White America," a lecture series sponsored by Wayne's University Center for Adult Education, deserve more attention than they have received. Milton R. Stern, the director of UCAE, thinks such efforts may be too little and too late. Extension in the United States, he says, "is in a state of confusion because of the whole range of newly realized needs—race, poverty, the ghetto—which are being met more by other agencies than by extension divisions. University extension is poorly organized, poorly defined. The service functions of universities need to be redefined, and priorities need to be changed."

Stern and Maddox, from a perspective which allows them to be inside the university yet outside its formal instructional channels, have some decided opinions about Wayne State and its response to black Americans. They agree that the university has developed several promising programs, but they think racial concerns have had low priority, and they say that even an all-out effort may require more time than the university has left to meet its obligations. Here is a combined and condensed quotation from a conversation with the two men:

"With the best will in the world, neither Wayne nor any other university is going to bring its commitment up to full equality in less than five to eight years. Wayne is still dealing in sentimental, public relations terms; particularly at the faculty level, the kind of hard decisions that involve will and organization and attitude have not been made. They say there's not enough money, or that social problems are not a primary responsibility of the university. But this *is* the priority now, it has to be. Our society has always given priority to white people, so the black taxpayer has helped to finance the education of the white suburbanite. Now it's time to turn that around. But that kind of reordering of priorities seems pretty remote. Universities are not cohesive units; they are a complex of disciplines, with fragmented interests and divided loyalties. They cannot move as institutions, and their unresponsiveness may make of them the next Bastille. Community concern now is at the public school level; higher education will be next. If you have a military state, revolt begins in the military; if you have a church state, reform begins in the church. What we have is a learning state, a society where education and technology are at the pinnacle of the power structure. And educational institutions are also very vulnerable to physical attack."

There are other ways in which Wayne State is attempting, with varying degrees of commitment and success, to extend its resources beyond its campus. The schools of medicine, nursing and education, for example, directly influence the quality of education and health care which the people of Detroit receive in their schools and hospitals. The School of Social Work is similarly involved. Other efforts of lesser magnitude include a program in the departments of chemistry, physics and biology in which more than 60 high school students from the inner city were employed last summer as research assistants. Almost all of the youngsters were Negroes.

Two federally funded programs—Upward Bound and the Teacher Corps—combine the idea of outreach with the functions of teaching and research. Wayne State's Upward Bound program is in its third year. Two private institutions, the University of Detroit and Mercy College, are partners in the program, which is directed at the preparation of about 150 low-income and underachieving high school youngsters a year for college. So far, 126 students have completed the Upward Bound program and graduated from high school; 119 of them—93 per cent—have gone on to college. (Nationally, about 80 per cent of Upward Bound graduates have gone on to college.) About 90 per cent of Wayne's Upward Bound students are Negroes. Thirty-three of the students who have gone on to college so far have enrolled at Wayne.

The director of Wayne's program, Delbert Hopkins, says the College of Education—and in particular its dean, Dr. J. W. Menge—"has given us every possible help and has tried to make this a real part of the university, not just a stepchild." Faculty involvement has been slight, as much by choice of the program's leaders as by choice of the faculty. Hopkins is white; the program's co-director, Charles Gordon, is black, and so is Will Robinson, the top assistant.

The Teacher Corps was begun at Wayne in 1966. The two-year internship and study program is directed at preparing a corps of specially trained teachers for service in public schools outside of the areas which are middle class and mostly white. Twenty-seven students completed the first Teacher Corps cycle at Wayne and earned master's degrees; all but six or seven of them were white. The second group, which will complete the program next summer, has 32 students, including nine Negroes. The third group has 40 students; half of them are black.

Mrs. Margaret Ashworth, director of the Wayne Teacher Corps, has led in the development of the Afro-American Curriculum Center, now housed at the College of Education. The center, which includes literature, audio-visual materials, artifacts and student-developed materials, is designed to provide teachers, administrators and student teachers with resources "to

NEGROES AT WAYNE STATE

By comparison with most predominantly white colleges and universities, Wayne State has a larger number of Negro students, and has had since the post-World War II enrollment boom. The university relies for racial statistics on a voluntary information card which each student is asked to fill out at registration. On the basis of what university officials think was "a reasonably accurate" 90 per cent return, extrapolated to 100 per cent, the following figures have been compiled for the 1968 fall term:

- 15,811 students are enrolled as full-time undergraduates; an estimated 1,500 of them are Negroes.
- an estimated 10,000 students, full-time and part-time, are enrolled in programs leading to a graduate or professional-school degree; approximately 1,000 of them are Negroes.
- about 7,350 students are enrolled as part-time undergraduates taking courses for credit; some 800 of them are Negroes.
- altogether, the university counts about 23,000 undergraduates, 10,000 graduate and professional students; 20,000 full-time students, 13,000 part-time students; and a total enrollment finally estimated at 33,177, of whom 3,338 are black Americans.

The lack of a systematic method of compiling records by race prevents the university from knowing how many of the 2,939 persons who received undergraduate degrees last year or the 2,144 who received graduate or professional degrees are Negroes. There are also no statistics on attrition in the university, either among Negro students or among all students. Almost 5,000 full-time students were freshmen last fall; there is no indication of how many of them are Negroes.

The voluntary survey of racial groups conducted last fall showed the following numbers (and percentages) of Negroes by school or college:

- Social Work 61 (21.4)
- Education 1,038 (14.7)
- Liberal Arts 1,394 (10.3)
- Monteith College 90 (11.2)
- Nursing 89 (13.2)
- Medicine 28 (3.7)
- Law 26 (3.2)
- Pharmacy 17 (7.0)
- Engineering 62 (4.7)
- Business Administration 113 (4.8)

A school-by-school check indicates that most of these figures are reasonably accurate; some are not. The medical school, for example, has 11 black students, and the engineering school has about a dozen.

correct the distortions and omissions of Afro-Americans in American and world history." Mrs. Ashworth, who is on leave from the Detroit school system, also led in the assembly of a curriculum guide for the study of black history and culture at the elementary school level. That project involved public school teachers and administrators (Mrs. Ashworth was an assistant principal), parents and community representatives, and members of the Teacher Corps team.

Mrs Ashworth and two of her assistants, Mrs. Zeline Richard and Mrs. Beulah Tumpkin, have unusually close ties with the public schools because of their experience as teachers. They describe themselves as "middle class black women who have stayed in the community," and they express deep discontent with the state of the public schools in Detroit. Wayne's College of Education must share the blame for the ills of the schools, they say, but the brunt of their criticism is directed at the school system bureaucracy. Where the College of Education stands *vis-a-vis* the black community and the public school system is a question heard often at Wayne; it will be taken up here later.

One further instrument of outreach at Wayne which will combine community service with teaching and research is the Center for Urban Studies. The result of a long analysis of the university's response to its surroundings, the center is a recent creation, having begun operation under its first full-time director, Bertram M. Gross, in January. At this point, it is unclear what role the urban studies center will play; its relationship to the Division of Urban Extension, for example, has not been spelled out. In general, the new center will be engaged in mission-oriented research and interdisciplinary studies, and what effect it will have on the various existing projects of this kind is a matter of considerable interest in the university community.

The university's effort to identify and recruit minority and low-income students is one activity which will not be included under the urban studies umbrella. This is the principal function of the Special Student Service Programs office, formed this year under the leadership of Noah Brown Jr., who is on the staff of Dean of Students Duncan Sells. Talent search, selection, special admission, financial aid and academic support for poor students who have high potential are being co-ordinated by this office.

The cornerstone of the special student services program is the Higher Education Opportunities Committee, a nonprofit corporation started in Detroit in 1963 by Federal Judge Wade H. McCree and Arthur Neef, former dean of the Wayne Law School. HEOC was a forerunner of the many equal opportunity programs now in existence at colleges across the country; in six years, it has provided some form of assistance to almost 2,000 students. About 200 students who entered Wayne last fall and another 200 who enrolled in other colleges and universities are "clients" of HEOC.

Most of the students who have been assisted by HEOC have come from 14 inner city high schools in Detroit; about 95 per cent of the students are black. Mrs. Aline A. Rivers directs the HEOC office now; Noah Brown ran it last year.

In the new office directed by Brown, planning and advisory committees have been set up to co-ordinate HEOC and several other programs of support for high-potential students. One of the committees is made up of university staff and students; another is composed of community leaders from Detroit's inner city. In addition to HEOC, other special student service programs include the Canfield Project, a tutorial program directed by Wayne undergraduate Phyllis Rose; the Upward Bound program; Project 300, a special admissions program for marginal students; and Project 50, which provides intensive summer preparation and special admission for a group of "high-risk" students. The university has committed $100,000 to the enlargement of these programs next year.

Brown's university advisory committee includes representatives from every division that has an interest in student welfare—admissions, financial aid, counseling, testing, placement, veterans affairs, tutoring, remedial instruction, academic advising and student affairs. With such co-ordinated support, the programs of special student services range all the way from college enrollment information for high school students to intensive care and comprehensive support for Wayne enrollees who lack all of the traditional requirements for college—except latent potential and the will to succeed.

Another effort to make Wayne more accessible to black students is being made by Benson Manlove, a senior in the School of Business Administration. Manlove goes to school at night; he spends his days on a one-man talent search for black students, particularly in the fields of business, engineering, and the sciences, and especially at the graduate and professional-school level. He is now a special assistant to Wayne President William Keast and a member of Noah Brown's university advisory committee. Manlove asked for the job last summer, and Keast gave it to him. "I could have said we were already doing that," the president says now, "but I told him to go to it, and I found out we weren't."

After World War II, Wayne State had a program for "nonmatriculated" students which permitted anyone, regardless of his credentials, to enroll for noncredit courses and try to demonstrate the ability to succeed at college. Under the pressure of rising enrollments, the program was discontinued. As the university reaches now for students who seem bright and able in spite of poor high school grades and low standardized test scores, it is returning cautiously to the philosophy on which the "nonmatriculate" program was based. Judging from some of Wayne's alumni who entered the university in that program, the rewards of it were greater than the risk involved. One "nonmatric" was Murray Jackson, now Wayne's assistant dean of students and the spearhead of the effort in Detroit to establish a two-year community college. Another was Noah Brown.

Beyond the various efforts being made to increase Wayne's servant role in Detroit and to make the university more accessible to black students, several of its colleges and schools are attempting to address themselves to racial and social concerns.

- Monteith College, a small undergraduate college of the university, was founded in 1959, as one of the earliest of the new wave of schools designed to offset the massiveness and impersonality of the modern multiversity. Monteith's style is general education, "new" disciplines (humanistic studies, science of society), small-group instruction, independent study and close student-faculty relationships. About 10 per cent of its 950 students are black. One of them is Phyllis Rose, who directs the tutoring program known as the Canfield Project; it was started six years ago by Monteith students. Another black student in Monteith is Herb Boyd, who, according to Dean Woodburn Ross, "turned the college's attention to the need for black-oriented educational programs to benefit both black and white students." Last summer, Boyd led a committee of faculty and students who put together a seminar on the black man and contemporary society. About 100 students—half from Monteith, the others from elsewhere in the university—are now taking the one-year (three quarters) course, and Boyd, who has no degree, carries much of the instructional load, with the help of a team of faculty members.
- The School of Medicine staffs Detroit General Hospital, which is owned by the city, and is thus the principal source of health care for residents of the black ghetto. But the medical school itself has had few black students over the years, and an intensive effort is now underway to change that pattern. Negro faculty members in the school have made a film to use for recruiting black students into pre-medicine, a special summer program for marginal students has been begun, and tutorial and financial aid are being provided for new students. When the university's new multi-million-dollar medical facility is completed, entering classes will be enlarged from 130 to 250 students a year, and it is hoped that Negroes will make up at least 10 per cent of each class.
- The School of Law, under its new dean, Charles W. Joiner, is trying to increase the number of Negro students (presently 26 of 800) and faculty (2 of 26), and to change the traditional curriculum. New or revised courses in urban law, law and the poor, welfare law, land development and other subjects are now being emphasized. Next summer, 40 minority-group students who recently earned bachelor's degrees will be brought to Wayne from all over the country for an urban law summer school that will include preparation for the standardized law school entrance examination and involvement as observers with organizations of the poor and the black. It is hoped that most of them will enter the law school in the fall. Interdisciplinary curriculum projects with Wayne's social work and engineering schools are being planned, and students in the law school have been operating a free legal aid clinic and volunteering free legal counsel in the city juvenile court. Dean Joiner has expressed a desire to have a black enrollment of at least 10 per cent, and he points out that since Detroit's Negro population is larger than that, "the percentage should be higher."
- The College of Engineering so far has not reflected its surroundings in its student body, its faculty or its curriculum. No more than a dozen of its 1,800 students and none of its 85 faculty members are Negroes. Under a new dean, Ali Bulent Cambel, the college shows signs of stirring. Dean Cambel, at least, has made clear the kind of school he wants: urban oriented, interdisciplinary, socially conscious and interracial. He wants to develop new admissions criteria, establish a six-year doctoral program for students recruited from high schools, and establish interdisciplinary degree programs with law, business, education, journalism and medicine. "The new frontier in engineering is the urban area," he says. "We want to develop an engineering education oriented to social problems. Engineering has long been a rung on the social ladder for lower-middle-class people and for second-generation immigrants. The new style can be equally attractive for the Negro immigrants to the cities. Engineering enrollments are dropping around the country now that the glamor of electronics and the space age is fading. We want to take advantage of that to change directions and rebuild, and the urban Negro will be a central figure in that revitalization." Cambel mixes gentle persuasion and autocracy to spur the search for black students and faculty; to some of his current faculty as well as to others outside the college, the dean's ideas are radical, if not revolutionary. It is more than a little ironic that Cambel, before coming to Wayne, was vice president for research at the Institute for Defense Analysis, a principal target of the radical New Left.
- The School of Social Work has eight black professors on its full-time faculty—about 20 per cent of the total—and its student body has a comparable percentage of blacks. The school has been extensively involved in urban affairs, and appears to be increasing its commitment. Curriculum and practicum revision are in progress, and recruitment and financial aid programs are also underway; the school's faculty has adopted the position that 30 to 40 per cent of the student body should be black. Several members of the faculty, including Hartford Smith and Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips, both Negroes, and Aaron Krasner, who grew up as "the only Jewish kid in a Nazi neghborhood of St. Louis," gave active support to the creation of Wayne's Association of Black Students; some of the leaders in that organization are students in the School of Social Work. Dean of Students Duncan Sells and his assistant dean, Murray Jackson, also had a hand in the development of the ABS. Krasner and others have developed field work assignments within the univer-

HUDSON'S

sity for social work students, training them for future roles as social workers within the student community; it was out of this experience that the ABS was formed.

- The College of Education claims a score of instructional and public service programs concerning race, poverty and the urban environment. They include Head Start teacher training, consultation with parents on the issues of decentralization and community control of schools, training for paraprofessionals, an interracial nursery school in a low-cost housing project, a large number of inner-city assignments for student teachers, several courses on teaching in the urban setting and on teaching minorities and low-income students, and the Afro-American Curriculum Center developed as part of the Teacher Corps program. The College of Education has an office of urban education which conducts multi-school projects, a New Careers program in which study is combined with a succession of jobs leading to teaching careers, and an experimental project to help prepare teachers for inner-city elementary schools. The Association of Black Students is giving a series of faculty seminars in the college.

Through its involvement with public education in Detroit, the College of Education is probably closer to the heat of racial discontent than any other instructional unit of the university. In an earlier day, when the Detroit Board of Education ran Wayne, educational problems were less visible than they are now, and the relationship between the college and the schools was generally good. Now, the College of Education finds itself wedged between the school board and a majority-black clientele which is increasingly less patient and more militant. Financially, the schools are overdrawn and in debt; resegregation continues apace as whites flee to suburbia; millage elections find little favor with the voters; bureaucracy binds the massive school system; demands grow for community control of the schools; and a teacher strike is in prospect next fall. As relations worsen between the school system and the community, the College of Education is forced more and more to one side or the other. Neutrality appears to be a disappearing option.

The Wayne education college, like others across the country, comes to the racial issue ill-prepared for a leadership role. It has had a large number of black students for many years, but its curriculum has had little relevance for ghetto school children who are black and poor; it has been, in most respects, a traditional college of education—predominantly white and middle class, preoccupied with requirements and credentials and certification, producing teachers and administrators who fit into the American public education system snugly, smugly and smoothly.

The fissures in that system are now painfully visible in almost every big city in the country. However much any school system may recognize the extent of inequality in its educational programs, and however much it may wish to correct the inequities, the problems are now so massive that few, if any, appear to be making much headway. In Detroit, the school board and administration are under fire from ghetto residents who feel they have been cheated. The blame is not all theirs—schools do not control housing, or jobs, or the police, or local government—but the school system is now the focus of discontent, and it offers a large target. In the College of Education at Wayne State, the current consciousness of racial problems is recent and partial; three years ago, the faculty showed little interest in urban problems, and estimates from inside the college are that no more than 30 to 40 per cent of the faculty is now totally committed to a top-priority concentration on racial and social problems in urban schools. Only six members of the full-time faculty are black.

Concern over the crisis in the public schools and its consequences for Wayne State is heard repeatedly on the campus. The College of Education, under Dean J.W. Menge, seems to be moving with some urgency in search of ways to be more effective, and in a great many ways it is already more deeply involved in urban/racial/social problems than most other colleges of education. But the distance between school officials and parents in Detroit is so great that Wayne is bound to be considered either part of the "white power structure" or an ally of the "black rebellion"—or both. Many people believe the school crisis will worsen, and Wayne State, no matter how fully it devotes itself to a search for solutions, will not be able to prevent a disaster—or avoid the fallout from it.

Dean Menge thinks that neither Wayne State nor any other university has the time, the money or the expertise to solve urban problems. "A crisis such as Detroit faces in its public schools is too big for the university to solve," he says. "It must be a concern of much larger groups—the entire city, the entire nation. Much of the problem is outside the scope of things a university can do. Piecemeal efforts won't help much. It will take a full-scale attack with the specific aims of stamping out poverty, illiteracy and racism. A good job—even a perfect job—done by universities in the schools is not nearly enough. I believe the resources are available in this country to do what needs to be done, but money is not the real problem; the problems are organization, will, determination, disposition, attitude. People make things go—not treasuries."

This brief review of the response to black Americans in Monteith College and the schools of medicine, law, engineering, social work and education presents a mixed picture. The depth of commitment varies from college to college and from individual to individual in each college. Some further comments from a few faculty members and others add supporting evidence.

Dr. Gloria Cowan, assistant professor of psychology, says that aside from studies in the aftermath of the 1967 riot by two faculty members, the psychology department is "not social-action-oriented and hasn't done much" to relate to racial and urban problems.

Wayne has reached out deliberately to turn on a tap in the black community of Detroit. There is no reason to believe that the tap could be turned off again.

The department has "five or six" black graduate students and no Negro faculty members, and the curriculum is unchanged for the most part, although Dr. Cowan says "more faculty members are trying to adjust their courses to the current realities." There is a philosophical clash in the faculty between theorists and activists, but in the absence of any direct racial pressures on the department the argument has been essentially academic. As for students, Dr. Cowan says, "most of our black students, like most whites, are just trying to make it. They don't have the time or the freedom to become involved in philosophical issues, or even in social action. There are not many black activists here, or many white ones either." (Generalizations about Wayne's black students by other faculty members tend to match Dr. Cowan's. Said one: "A majority of black students still see an integrated society as the goal, and they have a strong sense of self-investment and commitment to elevate the black community. They're a cross between Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael. Social interaction between blacks and whites still moves in the direction of more contact, though outwardly that's not apparent. There is a good bit of interracial dating here.")

Dr. Kenneth C. Wylie, an assistant professor of history, is a young white man, a former member of Students for a Democratic Society, and a specialist in African history. "The only black faculty member in our department," he says, "is a man who doesn't have his Ph.D. and can't get faculty rank or a full-time appointment because of it." That man teaches the department's only course in Afro-American history, and Wylie says it "took an internal clash to get the course approved." Wylie's own interests are in "expanding what the university teaches about Africa to whites and blacks in Detroit," but he and other members of the history faculty have been unsuccessful so far in their efforts to establish an African studies center. Last summer Wylie conducted a workshop in Afro-American history for public school teachers, and he hopes it will be repeated this year—but with a black director.

Dr. Oliver H. Osborne, an associate professor in the College of Nursing, was in graduate school with Wylie at Michigan State University. Osborne is also an anthropologist, and teaches in that department as well as in psychiatric nursing at Wayne. Osborne, who is black, agrees with Wylie that "bureaucracy, tradition, rigidity and racism are institutional forces that prevent the rational process of change at Wayne." He says the College of Nursing "is considered liberal" in comparison with other health-related units of the university; as for the Department of Anthropology, "it and a few other departments have some black-oriented courses, but they are not relevant to current urban realities."

Dr. Winfred A. Harbison, Wayne's vice president for academic administration, says the university's response to black Americans is gaining momentum, but he adds, "we need much more systematic co-ordination, more initiative and advance planning, and better analysis of what we're doing." He believes there is no serious opposition in the university to the concentration on racial problems: "The faculty is more independent and harder to convince, but they're becoming increasingly aware and interested. The real ferment, though, has been in the administration and among some students. Many people think this is all a fad, but others see it as a wave of the future and a new frontier in education. I hold to the latter view, and I think it's true at Wayne more than at most universities. But a lot of people cling to the past—they're willing to add to the status quo, but not to subtract from it."

Dr. Henry V. Bohm, vice president for graduate studies and research, was a professor of physics at Wayne for nine years until he was appointed to the vice presidency last May. It is his contention that Wayne has "done a lot for black people—not enough, but a lot. We've done more for larger numbers, with our own money and over a longer period of time than any other university." Wayne has "a great opportunity to do much more," he adds, "but I feel we have gone about a lot of it in the wrong way." Bohm says the university has not tried hard enough to attract top students, either from the suburbs or the ghetto. "We could do a much better job with marginal students if we had more top students," he says. Of the faculty, Bohm says: "Many of them view our involvement with blacks with considerable suspicion. They say it's a bleeding-heart reaction, costly and ineffective. Some of them are hesitant because of the personal and professional cost. The majority, though, are interested and want to help. The degree of sacrifice they're willing to make is hard to say. I don't see any questioning of credentials coming—but we've got some damn good black people here who can't get faculty status because they don't have the credentials, and we've got some poor ones who have credentials and status. And the same is true of whites."

The variety of responses to black Americans at Wayne State may be due in part to some characteristics of the institution itself. There is no organization chart showing line and staff responsibilities; its structure is somewhat vague, and the relationship of individual units to each other and to the total institution is unclear. The university's campus has no distinct boundaries. Some administrative and instructional units are scattered and disconnected, and the student body is large, mobile and unorganized. The result of all this is that communication is difficult and co-operative planning is hampered. Individualism prevails over community as the dominant style of the university. It is a style that must make administrators ulcerous and faculty members ecstatic. It also provides poor soil for the growth of student activities and organizations, and complicates the institution's efforts to wage a unified campaign against racial discrimination and inequality of opportunity.

Yet in this same setting, the Association of Black Students has become in two years' time the strongest student organization at Wayne. All black students are automatically considered members of ABS; about 200 are active in its programs, and at an average meeting, about 75 will show up. By comparison with other student groups at Wayne—and considering the fact that almost all the university's students are commuters—it is an impressive record, made more so by the diversity of the black population. Detroit has a wealthy black elite, a sizable black middle class, large numbers of working class blacks and a great many who are very poor; it has conservatives and liberals, integrationists and separatists, intellectuals and illiterates who are black. The Republic of New Africa, a black nationalist organization, is based in the city. The Black Panthers and the Black Muslims have strong units there, as do the NAACP and the Urban League. And almost all of these styles can be found among the more than 3,000 black students at Wayne State.

Despite these differences, the ABS has a carefully nurtured image of black unity, and it has managed to make that image convincing by voicing the common grievances of many groups of blacks, by being militant but not destructive, and by working both in the system and on it. Noah Brown says of the ABS, "They're converting hostility into brain power. They think and talk militant, but instead of confrontation and violence they've tried to negotiate the system." Historian Ken Wylie says the black students "understand politics and organization far better than SDS," and Hartford Smith in the School of Social Work says the ABS "has had inspirational leadership, and has been a strong force in the university on such issues as curriculum change and increasing the numbers of black students and faculty."

The president of ABS is Lonnie Peek, a 26-year-old graduate student in the School of Social Work. Peek was an undergraduate at West Virginia State College. He is a native of New Jersey, is married and has two children. He came to Wayne in the fall of 1967, and led the formation of ABS that year. "Radical white students were getting nowhere here," he says. "There have been radical groups in this country before, and they were all co-opted into the system. Today's white radicals are only a continuation of that. They're infantile revolutionaries, and they'll be tomorrow's liberals —or conservatives. They have nothing to offer us; they can't even relate to their families, let alone to us."

Peek and Ozell Bonds, another of the prime movers in ABS, talked about Wayne and black Americans in a late-afternoon meeting at the ABS office on the campus. This is a part of what they said:

"Wayne is part of the white power structure, perpetuating the status quo and fostering the opinions and goals of the white middle class. Black people who have come here have had to fit into that pattern, and it has made them think of themselves as fortunate and special. The university has not addressed itself to the economic, educational and social needs of people—it has been a citadel, and it has produced a generation of zombies. But black people support this university with their taxes, and it has an obligation to them. Detroit is 43 per cent black; we want to extract from Wayne a fair return to the community.

"We don't want segregation, we want equality. Integration is no longer viable. Autonomous self-determination, black to black and white to white, is the best way to achieve parity and equity for black people. Social integration is a hollow myth. Coexistence on equal terms offers more hope. This country has the technological skills to provide for all its people, but the technological advances exceed the humanitarian abilities. The hope in this country rests in the hearts of the black society, but a solution short of open warfare is contingent on whites.

"We've been a mild people. But in the past few years, beginning with the NAACP, each group has been succeeded by a more radical group. Whites must either accept the peaceful demands of black people or give through punitive action."

There are some subtle distinctions in the radical vocabulary that are worth noting. Lonnie Peek and Ozell Bonds are angry young men; it would be impossible to say how much of what they say is simply rhetoric, but there is no doubt that they know how to use words effectively, and they have at times been acerbic and strident enough to jar the sensibilities of any white man. Yet the exhortations to hate whites, the calls for guerrilla warfare and the persistent and repetitious style of verbal overkill that characterizes so much of contemporary radical oratory are not the basis of their message. Perhaps more significantly, the actions of ABS have been essentially constructive. Peek and Bonds are teaching a course on education and the black child in the College of Education, and they have also conducted faculty seminars on racism; Herb Boyd, another ABS member, is teaching Monteith College's seminar on the black American.

And ABS is also developing a black studies institute. For the past year, their plans have been in flux; the name, the size, the curriculum, the location, the financing and other particulars have shifted and evolved, but essentially, the idea of having a four-year, degree-granting institute for the study of black history and culture and the preparation of students for community service has remained more or less constant. From last May until December, the ABS was in negotiation with the Wayne administration about developing the institute within the university; it is now being talked of as a separate entity. The Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit has given the ABS $34,000 to plan the institute, and Peek and Bonds say they have received encouragement and tentative promises of support from some foundations and organizations in Detroit and elsewhere.

As they describe it, the black studies program would be "a new type of institution, reoriented to the priorities of black people. It is being designed to create individuals with awareness and dedication to the black community, people with skills to serve the black community. It will have a social sciences base, but it will not be rigidly structured, and it will not operate in a vacuum—it will be open to whites, too. We want to construct a model of what all higher education could be: open and helpful, a servant of the community, measuring the worth of people by their ability to serve instead of by their degrees or their economic status."

Wayne's response to the black studies institute idea has been cautiously supportive. President William Keast told the faculty last December: "My initial reaction to the spirit and intention of this proposal, and my present view, are strongly sympathetic. The constructive initiative taken by a concerned group of students in working out an elaborate educational proposal is, if not unique, certainly unusual, and highly commendable." The ABS has since made its decision to develop the institute outside the university. Still, it is getting encouragement from within the university, and whatever form the institute finally takes, there is reason to believe that it will have some connection with Wayne.

The relationship between the Wayne administration and the student newspaper has been considerably more fractious. *The South End*, under a staff of black and white radicals and self-styled revolutionaries has been this year's biggest campus issue. Its nameplate is flanked by two black panthers over the inscription, "One Class-Conscious Worker Is Worth 100 Students." Its faculty adviser, who held the job for 21 years, resigned this year after saying of the current staff, "They have no integrity, no pride in what they produce." He described the paper as "a vulgar, vicious, paranoid sheet." A story about the paper in the Detroit *Free Press* said articles in *The South End* "are written with an arrogance, militancy and reliance on revolutionary cliches . . . seasoned with four-letter words." Articles in the paper have referred to the police as "club-carrying pigs," called the federal government "those imbecilic sponges in Washington," and frequently excoriated Keast and others in the university. John Watson, the paper's editor-in-chief, says bluntly: "The paper is devoted to the Black Revolution."

President Keast has been pressed by students, faculty and people outside the university—including legislators and alumni—to crack down on the newspaper. His response in a statement last November was this: "There have been expressions of concern and a number of complaints about the nature of *The South End*. It is the university's position that the editors have been selected by established procedures and that the university supports freedom of the student press." In December, Keast told the faculty, in effect, to be patient and let the paper work out its own style with the help of a newly appointed faculty adviser. By February, Keast's own patience was wearing thin; he charged in a letter to the paper that it was "inaccurate and slanted, marked by a shoddiness of language and a looseness of statement far below any standard of responsible journalism." *The South End* printed his letter without comment.

The dispute over the newspaper is not necessarily an indication of Keast's relationship with the Association of Black Students, or of the relationship between *The South End* and the ABS. Once again, alliances are not as simple as black and white.

President Keast has been, by most accounts, the key figure in Wayne State's efforts to provide full equality for Negro Americans. One measure of his commitment is what he says; beginning with his inaugural address in 1965, he has spoken repeatedly of Wayne's special role as an urban university. "The university's social orientation has been partial and incomplete," he told the prestigious Economic Club of Detroit in 1967, and he has advocated greatly expanded educational opportunity for minority and low-income students, reshaping of the university to meet critical urban problems, and transformation of the university area into "a genuine neighborhood," with the widest possible variety of public and private enterprises, social services and residents.

Another measure of Keast's—or any president's—priorities is the list of appointments he has made. The vice presidents, deans and directors who have been appointed at Wayne since 1965 are by and large the same administrators who now appear to take the university's racial and urban responsibilities most seriously. Most of the administrators whose programs have been described in this report have been appointed by the Keast administration.

Financial commitment is another indication of the president's priorities. This year, Wayne is seeking a $10 million increase in its appropriation from the state of Michigan. Thirty per cent of that increase is earmarked for the university's urban emphasis, and other funds are being sought from the federal government and from private sources.

President Keast believes "we ultimately will achieve equity and parity for blacks and whites, in the university and in society. But the short-run problems are acute—too little space, too little money, poorly prepared students, narrow and unrealistic admissions criteria, the state's archaic system of funding capital construction out of current income, an inadequate higher education structure in Detroit. It is impossible to calculate the consequences of this city's failure to fund a junior college."

There are other problems which plague Wayne in its attempt to respond to urban and racial necessities. Some of them are touched on in this comment by Keast: "Faculty concern about social issues varies widely on any campus, and even within departments. The whole cast of many disciplines is conservative, and not socially responsive. Many faculty are custodians of standards, and while they have legitimate concerns, they are too often uncritically accepting of credentials. There are signs that our faculty is becoming less self-regarding, but it will take time. The academic credentialing system will change, I believe, and experience and achievement will be given a higher value. This is already happening in some areas—the fine arts, for example, and journalism. Universities should have different purposes and different requirements; we have been far too narrow and inflexible.

"In the administration, we have been less reflective and deliberate than we should have been in addressing ourselves to these problems. We have been reactive, responding to pressures as they arose. Self-origination of ideas and programs, rather than response to pressure, has to become our method of operating. And that means not just the administration but the faculty too, and the students.

"I wonder if we can educate the white community to the necessity of concentrating on the black community for a period of time in order to erase the cumulative inequalities which exist in our institution and in the larger society. An emphasis on Negro students in our medical school admissions program, for example, will bring outraged cries, but I'm prepared to do that. We're going to have to find ways to insure the maintenance of quality while taking in a much more diversified group of students. So far, we haven't done a good job of explaining these problems to the public and to the legislature."

Some people believe that Wayne State is becoming Michigan's black university, and that in time—perhaps within 10 years—it will be 50 per cent black. Others say that the University of Michigan and Michigan State University, the state's two senior state institutions, must do much more to share the responsibility for the higher education of Michigan's black population. The urgent necessity for public junior colleges in Detroit is also mentioned frequently.

Meanwhile, Wayne State tries to move, in what its movers hope is the right direction. Internal and external politics, financial restrictions, tradition, the ominous threat of black rage and white reaction, and many factors outside the control of the university—the Detroit public school crisis is just one example—tend to circumscribe the institution and dilute the force and effect of its response. For whatever reasons—social conscience, a sense of history, academic soundness, fear—Wayne has reached out deliberately to turn on a tap in the black community of Detroit, a community that is richly diverse and largely underutilized. There is no reason to believe that the tap could be turned off again—as it was 10 years ago, when the university discontinued its "nonmatriculant" program. The university is trying to increase the representation of Negroes at every level of its staff and student body. It is trying to develop programs consistent with the realities of urban life. It has declared its determination to "stop defending indefensible criteria for admitting students, all the while parroting assurance to the community that 'all qualified students are welcome.'" It is attempting to work "with and among inner city residents to extend our hard-won abilities in the human services until they reach the last of society's disinherited."

Wayne is trying to do all those things. It is an uneven effort, calculated and impetuous, insightful and confused, total and partial. With a dozen strains of black and white power, the university is trying to move as fast as it can, as slow as it must, but move, and not run scared. So far, it's been a rough trip, and it may get rougher, but a great many people, black and white, are hoping that the destination will make it all worthwhile. ○

INDIANA:

Looking for the Man

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

UNIVERSITY EXECUTIVE—Large state university in Midwest seeking Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs. Good pay and benefits. Responsibilities include planning, staffing and administering new Afro-American Studies Program, coordinating recruitment of black faculty and students. Also some speaking and fund-raising, mediation, negotiation. One-year contract, no tenure. No Toms, no Separatists need apply. Send resume and recommendations to Box L-92.

THIS ADVERTISEMENT didn't appear in *Saturday Review* or the *New York Times*, but it could have, and before long it may. Colleges and universities may use different titles, different job descriptions and a variety of financial inducements, but most of them are seeking the same thing: black Americans with the patience, the perspective, the skill, the will and the equilibrium to get black revolutionaries, white racists and all their black and white brothers in between to accept peaceful coexistence as a minimum prerequisite of reason and equity on the campus.

Indiana University is looking for such a man for its main campus in Bloomington. The events and circumstances leading to the decision to seek a new vice chancellor are the subject of this report.

Five years ago, it was the popular style on many college campuses in the North to condemn segregation in the South, and many white students and faculty members contributed money or went themselves to support the civil rights movement in the Old Confederacy. The primary targets were public schools and public accommodations, the goal was integration, and the theme was "black and white together, we shall overcome."

The civil rights movement was the mother of today's student activism. The issues are far more numerous and complex now, but racism remains a paramount concern, and the college campus has become a major target of young radicals. Many of the campuses which provided ammunition and manpower for the assault on racial discrimination elsewhere now find themselves accused of tokenism, paternalism and hypocrisy. And to complicate matters further, integration—once defined as color-blindness, nondiscrimination and assimilation of Negroes into the white culture—is now dismissed by many blacks as an empty and insincere gesture. The "grateful Negro" is gone, and a new breed of angry blacks has taken his place.

Indiana University is a good place to witness this process and to see how far-reaching the change has been. IU has had a better-than-average race relations record; that record has now been challenged and found deficient by black students and faculty, and the university is responding with urgency and seriousness to the challenge.

In a setting more typically Southern than Northern, IU has "done more for Negroes" than a great many universities—including most of its sister institutions in the Big Ten. IU admitted its first Negro student in 1882. In the early 1920's, when the Ku Klux Klan was powerful in the state, the university had more than a score of Negro students, and by 1929, they made up 2 per cent of the student body. In 1945, the percentage was 3.2—roughly approximate to the percentage of Negroes in the state's population at that time. As early as 1936, a biracial student group was working "to achieve full democracy in race relations on the campus and in the community." Restaurants, swimming pools and barber shops were desegregated in the 1940's, and so were the university's dormitories and athletic teams. Negro History Week was observed, Negro leaders came to the campus to speak, Negroes entered the graduate and professional schools of the university, and a seat in the student legislature was created for a representative from "the Negro minority."

Its location 100 miles north of the Mason-Dixon line made IU an outpost for Negroes from the South when segregation laws were in force, and many of them earned degrees there. The university has awarded a large number of advanced degrees in education to Negroes from the South—more, perhaps, than all but a small handful of Northern universities. The first Negro faculty member was hired at IU about 20 years ago. The president of student government in 1961 was a Negro, and more recently, the number one campus queen—Miss IU—was a Negro coed. Negroes have been among the university's greatest athletic heroes. The Indiana University press has published 10 books by or about Negro Americans, including three edited by Langston Hughes and one written by James Meredith. And IU's African Studies Program, organized in 1961, is now one of the largest in the country, offering about 100 courses—including Swahili, Hausa and several other African languages.

These things happened at IU quietly and without fanfare, and in the context of the times they were remarkable achievements. Indiana has always been a conservative state with a heavy Southern accent—the Klan is still a functioning organization there—yet under the administration of President Herman B. Wells the university moved against the inertia of the state to lower racial barriers on the campus and in the Bloomington community, and it continued in that style under President Elvis J. Stahr. Five years ago, race was not an urgent, burning issue at IU. There were not a great many Negro students in the university, but they seemed to be faring reasonably well—or so most whites thought—and several people who were there then remember that the university's quiet steps toward equality for Negroes were regarded with pride and satisfaction in the campus community.

Since 1965, Indiana University has moved from a general sense of satisfaction with its reputation in racial matters to a specific and acute consciousness of the new moods of black Americans. Particularly in the past year, the reputation for liberalism has been severely criticized by frustrated and impatient black students. These are some of the things which made IU's race relations record vulnerable to criticism:

- The percentage of Negro students on the Bloomington campus is lower now than it was in 1945; in fact, the percentage has never been as high as it was that year, even though there are three times as many Negroes in the state. The number of Negro students in the university has increased gradually over the years, but white enrollment has grown at a much faster pace.
- Prior to 1964, IU was open to all graduates of the state's accredited high schools; that year, the university began requiring applicants to stand in the upper half of their graduating classes and to score in the upper half of students taking national standardized aptitude examinations. A large majority of students who entered in previous years actually met those requirements—of those who didn't, few even bothered to apply, often because they were warned away by high school counselors—but the effect of publishing the new standards was to discourage students with below-average grades and test scores. The university has been flexible in the administration of the standards—one in every six of last year's freshmen did not fully meet them—but at the same time, about 15 per cent of all new students at IU flunk out by the end of three semesters. Instruction is geared to "high achievers," and this has meant, for the most part, students who are well-schooled, economically secure, and white.
- Until this year, IU had no special program combining recruitment, admission, financial aid, counseling and academic adjustments to support "high-risk" minority and low-income students.
- Only 10 of the approximately 1,850 full-time faculty members on the Bloomington campus are Negro Americans. In administrative and professional positions there are seven or eight Negroes, including two assistant deans.
- On the campus, black and white students have

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Governed by an eight-member Board of Trustees, three of whom are elected by alumni of the institution and five by the State Board of Education with the approval of the governor. The university will observe its 150th anniversary next year. Dr. Joseph L. Sutton is now IU's president, having succeeded Elvis J. Stahr this year. President Stahr held the office for six years; his predecessor, Dr. Herman B. Wells, who was in office for 25 years, is now chancellor of the university and president of the Indiana University Foundation.

The main campus of the university is in Bloomington, a small city in south-central Indiana. About 55 per cent of IU's 49,000 students are enrolled there. Regional campuses are located in Indianapolis, Gary, Fort Wayne, South Bend, Kokomo and Jeffersonville, and the university's medical and health sciences programs are also located in Indianapolis. Fourteen schools and six academic divisions, centered around the College of Arts and Sciences, provide the undergraduate, graduate and professional instruction of the university. The Bloomington campus is primarily residential; more than half of the 27,500 students there live in university housing, and about 90 per cent of them are full-time students. The regional campuses, located in the urban areas of the state, have a predominance of commuting students and large numbers who attend part-time.

Indiana residents who have finished high school in the top half of their class and scored above the national average on standardized aptitude examinations are eligible for admission to the university. In addition, exceptions are made for students who do not meet all of these requirements but exhibit qualities, skills or abilities which seem to indicate probable success in college. Out-of-state students are selected from applicants whose high school grades and test scores are in the top quartile. About 87 per cent of all undergraduates at IU are from Indiana. The cost to a resident of the state who lives on the campus and enrolls for two semesters of full-time study is about $1,430, including room and board, books and supplies, and a $390 fee. The fee for out-of-state students is almost three times as high.

In addition to Indiana University, the state's public higher education system includes Purdue University, the land-grant institution; Ball State University; and Indiana State University. IU has almost doubled in size since 1960.

The population of Indiana now stands at about 5.2 million, up from 3.4 million in 1940—an increase of over 65 per cent. There are about 400,000 Negroes in the state—almost 8 per cent of the total population—and the number of Negroes has more than tripled since 1940.

roomed together in the residence halls for a number of years, but the tendency to choose roommates from the same race is pronounced and increasing. In fraternities and sororities, some black students have been invited to pledge, but only a few coeds have accepted the invitations. A serious racial incident involving fraternities occurred last spring. Off campus, the persistence of discrimination—particularly in housing—has been a festering aggravation to black students and faculty.

- In the whole range of curricular programs at all levels of the university, new or revised courses addressed to the historical and contemporary realities of black Americans have been slow in coming, and faculty support for such changes is far from unanimous. Several professors say that in general the faculty favors the principle of nondiscrimination but is deeply divided on the issue of deliberate discrimination in favor of any particular racial or cultural group. One dean commented: "I would say that a third of our faculty is eager to make a special effort for minorities, another one-third is willing, and the remaining one-third is hostile to the idea."
- The IU School of Education, one of the largest producers of new teachers in the nation (about 1,500 a year), has fewer than 100 Negroes among its 7,500 undergraduate and graduate students, and none of its 400 full-time faculty members are black.
- The university's small commitment to black Americans stands in noticeable contrast to its extensive involvement in international activities. There are half again as many foreign students as American Negroes on the Bloomington campus. The university has special interdisciplinary programs of study on Africa, East Asia, Latin America, the Near East, Eastern Europe and Western Europe, but has not, until this year, considered such a curriculum to encompass the history, arts, economics, politics and sociology of any of the cultural minorities of this country. Similarly, IU has been active in programs of economic and educational development in less advantaged countries overseas, but has been only minimally engaged in such programs at home.

These criticisms have been forceful and insistent, and the university administration has taken them seriously, particularly in the past year. Prior to that—in 1965—IU established the Committee on Equality of Higher Educational Opportunity, and on its recommendation some steps were taken to enlarge the university's commitment to minorities. That fall, $10,000 was set aside for "equal opportunity" scholarships, and the amount was subsequently raised to $20,000. IU established a "sister institution" relationship with Stillman, a Negro college in Alabama, and the equal opportunity committee directed that program. The university also created the Division of General and Technical Studies to offer two-year terminal programs in non-academic subjects at its regional campuses—in part to reach a larger segment of the Negro population in those areas. (So far, the division is in operation only on the Fort Wayne campus.)

At this point it should be noted that Indiana University's medical, dental, nursing and health sciences programs are located in Indianapolis, and that about three years ago, IU converted its six extension centers into degree-granting campuses. These are located in Indianapolis, Gary, Fort Wayne, Kokomo, South Bend and Jeffersonville, and this year they have a combined enrollment (including the medical complex) of about 21,500 students. Occasional reference will be made to these campuses in this report, but they were not visited in connection with the survey of race relations on the Bloomington campus.

Located as they are in the metropolitan areas of the state—where the vast majority of Negroes live—the regional campuses are certain to play a major and increasing role in IU's relationship to the Negro citizens of Indiana. About 5 per cent of their cumulative enrollment is black this year. The campuses in Gary and Indianapolis each have a higher percentage of Negro students than Bloomington, and the dean of the Indianapolis campus, Dr. Joseph T. Taylor, is a Negro. Eleven members of the full-time faculty in the medical-dental-nursing complex in Indianapolis are black Americans, and seven others are full-time faculty members at the regional campuses.

Dean Taylor, a sociologist and a Ph.D. graduate of IU, has been with the university since 1958. He notes that the admission requirements at the regional campuses are basically the same as at Bloomington, but he believes their urban setting makes them more accessible to black students, and special programs of guided studies have been developed to reach more students from the inner city. Also, there are service programs of an extension nature which allow students to accumulate up to 12 hours of credit without being formally admitted. But Taylor says: "Traditionally, Indiana University hasn't attracted as many black students as it should, and it has competed rather poorly even for the best of them. I think there is a very positive response to black Americans coming from IU now, but we did so little for so long, it's hard to convince the community of the university's sincerity. The demands now being made on the university are not of such magnitude as to make a complete overturning of the institution necessary, but we have to learn to assess the demands properly. We've been so weak, we're running scared. These are not insurmountable problems. There has been a built-in inertia in the faculty, and that has made change in the curriculum and in other areas very slow, but I think there are hopeful signs that some of the sacred preserves of the faculty are passing."

In the summer of 1967, the IU Board of Trustees adopted a resolution directing the administration "to take such steps as may be necessary and desirable to accelerate the final elimination of such vestiges of discrimination as may still exist, based on race, creed or national origin, from all phases of university life including official employment and other personnel policies and participation in campus activities and organizations." The gradual awakening to racial problems on the Bloomington campus had begun by then, largely as a result of efforts by the Committee on Equality of Higher Educational Opportunity.

But the real catalyst was the "new" black student. "They used to be humble and grateful," a faculty member recalls. "There were so few of them, and they were mostly glad for the chance to become middle class and escape their past. Now they want to identify with their origins and their blackness, and they're determined to change the system that has discriminated against them. They're proud and impatient, and damned critical of the university—and it's vulnerable to a lot of their complaints and demands."

There has been an organization of black African students at IU for several years—about 60 black Africans are enrolled there this year—and in the fall of 1967 they joined with a group of black Americans to form the Afro-Afro-American Student Association. An NAACP chapter had been formed at IU about 20 years earlier, but it has since gone out of existence, and there was no organization of Negro students in 1967. The Afro-Afro-American venture was a social success, but not a political one; the African students had less interest in institutional reforms than the black Americans, and they weren't able to align their priorities. But the black American nucleus of the organization remained intact, and in the spring of 1968, racial issues became a paramount concern at IU.

At a statewide conference on the Negro in higher education, IU President Stahr talked about some evidences of discrimination against Negroes in the university which had been pointed out to him, and said he felt these acts were more often thoughtless and unconscious than deliberate, "which is in a way just as bad, or worse." He discussed the conflict between the effort to erase all vestiges of racial discrimination and the practice of deliberate discrimination in favor of Negroes, and said, "My own conviction is that extraordinary efforts are in fact necessary . . . and special advantages [for Negroes] now are justified as an overdue debt to the past and the future." Stahr mentioned some of the racial barriers that had been removed from the university, but said they amounted to "too little over too long a period." He said that although many institutions "may not have achieved even this much, we at IU are certainly not looking back in satisfaction." And he concluded by saying: "We are concerned; we are making many efforts; and we are ready to listen."

About a week after that speech, a majority of the black students on the Bloomington campus marched on President Stahr's home to present him with a list of demands. They wanted him to disband a committee on discriminatory practices which he had created a month earlier; the students said the committee, whose chairman was a Negro professor, "has done nothing concrete" and its members "do not relate to the Black community at Indiana University." They demanded that a new "Joint Committee" be created—"composed and approved by Black students and faculty members"—and they called for more black students, faculty and administrators, reorganization of the curriculum, and an end to discrimination in fraternities and sororities and in off-campus housing.

A few days later, Martin Luther King was murdered, and racial tension accelerated on the campus. On April 6, President Stahr disbanded the discriminatory practices committee and created the Joint Committee on Discriminatory Practices, under the chairmanship of Dr. Orlando Taylor, a black professor in the Department of Speech and Theatre. Stahr told the IU Faculty Council that "the Negro students made it very clear to me that the committee that I had appointed was not acceptable to them, that they had no voice in its formation, and therefore, [they] would refuse to co-operate with it. Since the students refused to use or co-operate with the committee, the committee was at that point no longer able to serve the purpose for which I set it up. For that reason and *only* that reason, I felt compelled to disband it."

Early in May, President Stahr said in an address on the Bloomington campus that "race should have no place whatever" in the university. He added: "But if we are to insure that it will not have, we must first face the fact that it does have. Even though most of us here do not wish it so, there has been enough residuum of white racism in America to foster the beginnings of black racism." He said he was convinced that "the vast majority of both races, of all races, on this campus . . . find racism abhorrent—although many, particularly whites, may be too complacent to help as much as they could." Stahr issued "a most serious invitation" to the university community "to give this objective [the elimination of racism] a very special priority. It deserves it simply because it is the right thing to do. It deserves it also because failure to achieve it will inhibit and corrode all else we may try to do."

It was also in May that the president issued a report on the university's response to black Americans, repeating in it his plea for "integration as an item of first priority." The report listed a number of things then under way or being planned in the general areas of teaching, research, service, student recruitment and staff employment. By implication, the report called attention to two things which have encumbered the university in its efforts to attack racial problems. The first is that the institution does not keep records by race, and thus has been unable to measure either the progress or the problems associated with changing patterns of enrollment. The second is that no office or individual in the university has been responsible for guiding and co-ordinating the variety of activities which have been the sum and substance of the insti-

NEGROES AT INDIANA

Because the university does not keep records by race, only imprecise and incomplete figures can be compiled to give some indication of the extent of black enrollment. A voluntary survey was conducted last fall but a large number of students did not fill out the questionnaire, and others filled it out inaccurately. On the basis of preliminary data from that survey, reports and estimates from several units of the university, estimates made by the organization of black students on the Bloomington campus, information from other sources and an unscientific averaging and rounding-off process, the following figures are thought to be reasonably close:

Bloomington campus

Undergraduate		Graduate & Professional	
Total	Negro	Total	Negro
20,000	500	7,500	200

All other campuses combined

Undergraduate		Graduate & Professional	
Total	Negro	Total	Negro
18,000	1,000	3,500	100

These unofficial figures combine full-time and part-time students. Of the approximately 1,800 Negro students included in the totals, about 1,000 are full-time students. There is no way to determine how many of the university's freshman class of more than 5,000 are Negroes, or how many of the approximately 7,700 degrees awarded last year went to Negroes. It is estimated by the Office of Afro-American Affairs, the principal organization of black students on the Bloomington campus, that about 90 per cent of the black students are from Indiana, and that most of the rest are from Illinois and other non-southern states. In addition, there are about 60 black African students at IU this year, and about 1,000 foreign students.

An employment survey reported by the university in November of 1968 showed 28 black Americans holding full-time, faculty-rank positions—instructor and above. Ten of the 28 are at the Bloomington campus.

tution's commitment—or for stimulating new activities of this kind.

The university community was deeply preoccupied with racial concerns all during May. The Afro-Afro-American Student Association was at work on a proposal for the creation of an office of Afro-American affairs, the primary function of which would be to establish a black studies program in the university. (That office has since been opened with the approval and support of the administration.) As the school year drew to a close, a racial confrontation disrupted IU's biggest annual social weekend, and 1967-68 ended on an ominous note.

The Little 500 bicycle race is the highlight of a spring celebration that has become more of a big occasion than homecoming in the eyes of many students. It is not necessary to relate here the details of the 1968 crisis that erupted, except to say that a group of black students sat in on the track, saying they would not let the bicycle race proceed until all of IU's fraternities had signed statements repudiating discriminatory clauses in their charters. The sit-in lasted through part of two days, during which feverish negotiations between the administration and the black students were conducted and a steady downpour of rain forced postponement of the race. Finally, all but one of the 32 fraternities signed a statement which had been drafted and redrafted several times. The black students left the track, the rain subsided, and the race went on—without the fraternity that had refused to sign.

That ended a tense situation and a tumultuous year. But race consciousness has not faded on the Bloomington campus; last fall, IU's traditional homecoming queen contest was discontinued after a racial dispute, and over the Christmas holidays a fire bomb destroyed the Black Market, an off-campus shop which catered to black students. That incident intensified racial feeling at a time when the university was beginning to feel a backlash from around the state as a result of its earlier racial difficulties and other issues, such as open visitation in dormitories and alcoholic beverages on campus.

Also during the fall, President Stahr left office, using the term "presidential fatigue" to describe an ailment that has struck a large number of institutional chief executives in the past few years. Former President Herman B. Wells served as interim president until December, when Dr. Joseph L. Sutton, IU's vice president and dean of faculties, was promoted to the presidency.

In September, the university had started a small "high-risk" program in the Junior Division, an administrative unit responsible for the welfare of all freshmen. The university hired Rozelle Boyd, a black man, as an assistant dean to head the program, and plans are being made to enlarge it from the initial 43 students to about 200 a year. Before the program was started, says Boyd, "IU had made little deliberate effort to increase its black enrollment."

In October, the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences voted to establish a program of Afro-American studies, and a committee of faculty and students was set up to begin the planning and to search for a director.

The Bloomington campus in January presented a study in contrasts. It was possible to hear expressions of bitterness and good humor almost side by side; hope and fear, encouragement and discouragement, caution and impulsiveness were evident. And everywhere, there was a preoccupation with racial concerns. Conversations with administrators, faculty and students put some of these concerns into focus.

Dr. Donald J. Gray, chairman of the English Department, headed the equal opportunity committee from its inception. (The committee has never been officially disbanded, but is no longer active.) Dr. Gray sees the changed racial climate at IU over the past four years as unsettling but basically salutary. "We're working out an enormous guilt," he says, "and there is now an acute concern and sensitivity. Over the years, there has been more individual faculty commitment to these social issues than institutional commitment—it's never been locked into the institutional structure until now—but that is changing rapidly. Part of the university has to set for itself a social—not an intellectual—talk, and that is happening. I think the faculty as a whole is now receptive to this. There is a large, quiescent mass that won't be moved very fast, but it won't move against these changes. Within the institution, we're okay; we'll weather the discontent, though the uneasy climate will last for awhile. People outside the university—legislators, alumni and others—are another factor. There is a backlash, but it's fairly impotent. My optimism is that the university will get itself together enough and the terms will be reasonable enough for us to move on. Black members of our faculty have been extraordinarily important in all this, but the pressure on them is tremendous; they're on a split stick between moderation and militancy, and they catch it from both directions."

One of Gray's colleagues in the English Department, Dr. Edwin E. Cady, is chairman of the university's athletics committee. A report he compiled last fall shows that 51 (16 per cent) of 318 students who have received grants-in-aid to play basketball, football and track in the past seven years are Negroes. Twenty-three of the black athletes have been recruited in the past three years, and all of them are still in school and still playing sports. Of the other 28, 11 have graduated, six are still in school and 11 failed academically or withdrew. All of the 12 black athletes who have completed their three-year eligibility to play varsity sports have either graduated or are still in school. Cady acknowledges that there are racial tensions in the intercollegiate athletic program, but he adds that "much of the journalistic comment of late months regarding the black athlete seems not to apply to the black student athlete at Indiana." His report says that "black academic experience conforms closely to the experience of student athletes generally [at IU], except that in survival rates and in ratio of degrees attained over eligibility completed, black student athletes are superior."

Like Gray, Cady seems less concerned about IU's prospects for resolving racial differences than about the reaction outside the university to campus unrest. "We almost had blood on the grass at the Little 500," he says. "Rain was all that saved us. What can't be understood around the state is why anyone would be against good clean fun, like bicycle races and queen contests. There is deep resentment and incomprehension, and it had led many people to reject the university. They don't understand the underlying issues, and this could get us into deep trouble."

Dr. Cady thinks the university is very sensitive to these issues, and while he expresses concern that "a disruptive act will bring a strong reaction," he tends to share Dr. Gray's cautious optimism. Neither of them considers IU's black students to be revolutionary separatists. "They've been reasonable," says Gray.

Dr. Michael Schwartz, a sociologist and former associate dean for undergraduate development, is less sanguine about the prospect for racial accord. "The university faces terrible difficulty trying to redress past wrongs in a state where the Klan once ruled and still exists, "he says." I think the university comes to this crisis with relatively clean hands. It has tried hard, but not systematically—universities don't do that, primarily because their real power resides in the hands of department chairmen and faculty, not deans and administrators. The black students here haven't learned what their real target is; they're still attacking the administration. There are two kinds of racism: institutional and folk. Folk racism is what we have here, but the students attack the institution, which is powerless to control individual behavior."

Schwartz says IU "came alive last year, under pressure." But he notes that black student enrollment has declined proportionately over the years, and he says there are serious difficulties in recruiting black faculty: "The competition is brutal. You have to pay top money or settle for mediocre men, and this faculty already teaches more students with less money that most institutions. You can't hire a guy just because he's black. The kids don't understand that, but such a man would soon know why he'd been chosen, and if he can't cut it in the classroom, we're dead."

The university needs someone to co-ordinate all of its activities for black Americans. Schwartz thinks, but he doesn't believe a black vice chancellor could "eliminate the problem of folk racism." He also thinks positive discrimination for Negroes is a necessity, whatever it requires in the way of new academic programs and financial support. "It will be expensive, but you pay the price now or pay more later. Equality is not enough; it's a race between unequal participants, because of neglect, discrimination and poverty below the college level. In a society that is talent-short, we can't afford not to make this effort. It won't do for the university to be elitist, to take only the well-educated. I think the faculty here is open and willing to do what is necessary."

Schwartz teaches a course on social issues and public policy—"our single major curriculum change"—which deals with the sociology of race and poverty. Other courses in the department reflect these issues, he says, and he adds that English, history, education, anthropology and a few other departments and schools have added courses dealing with black America. The Graduate School of Business participates in a special program funded by foundations and industries to hasten the entry of Negroes into managerial positions in business. There are 21 black students in the IU program this year.

Dr. Schwartz gives the IU organization of black students credit for exposing racial discrimination in fraternities and sororities. "The university succumbed by silence to the evils of the Greek system for years," he said. "The black students have altered that."

Looking to the future, he predicts that "universities face a minimum of 10 years of difficulty. It will take that long to get a supply of black faculty members and to counsel large numbers of black students into higher education. Black Americans won't get anywhere without power, and it will take 10 years for them to get it. Universities have an important role in that, but they are essentially concerned with the past, and their uses are for the future; their relevance for current issues is questionable."

Two 21-year-old seniors at IU—Ted Najam, president of the student government, and Rod Smith, editor of the *Indiana Daily Student*—are generally supportive of the black student movement. Najam says student leaders were instrumental in resolving the Little 500 crisis by serving as liaison between the black students and the administration, "which had no rapport with the black students then."

"That was a real ordeal," he recalls, "but it awakened the leadership at all levels of the university. It also polarized a lot of people, and the backlash lingers. I don't believe there is any real feeling of hatred between black and white students here now, though there is some latent hostility. The lack of awareness of racial problems is great, though." Of his own leadership role, Najam says, "I've tried to show the administration and trustees you don't have to be a screaming radical to want changes." He says the black students and faculty have speeded a reform movement that has been under way for some time, and he believes the university "is lucky to have" blacks who want reform instead of revenge.

Smith says the *Daily Student* reflects the belief of its top staff members "that white attitudes toward

blacks are the number one serious problem we face. Institutions in society have a responsibility to go all out for the black man, to redress the inequities. At IU, the black man is big news, the top story. If we hammer on it enough, people will wake up to the problems."

One of the black faculty members is Dr. John B. Joyner, an assistant professor of speech and theatre. "You'll find the whole spectrum of feelings among black students here," he says, "but the general tenor of the leadership has been a willingness to work with the administration. The militant demands have been moral and humane; they've said, 'This is not just *your* university, it's *ours* too.' They haven't gone in for burning buildings, or seizing them, or using violence. You hear some separatist talk, but then you see interracial dating, and a willingness to trust, and a search for white understanding, even among the most militant blacks."

Joyner believes the university "is coming to grips with the urgency of these matters." He had a hand in negotiating the truce which ended the Little 500 incident, and though he acknowledges that "ill feeling still carries over" from that experience, he believes some good came of it. "There's communication now," he says. "A committee of administrators, trustees, faculty and students has been formed, and some of the Greek houses are having sensitivity sessions on weekends. Some people on both sides say we've already talked enough, but we have to keep on."

IU apparently intends to keep on talking, as part of its effort to change the racial climate, and Dr. Joyner will be one of the principal figures in those discussions. In February he was named director of human relations for the Bloomington campus, and under a reorganization plan now being implemented in the university he will be a special assistant to the chancellor. His new duties will include troubleshooting and mediation, ombudsman activities, and organization of sensitivity training sessions to help change negative attitudes about race.

The Office of Afro-American Affairs is headed by Clarence "Rollo" Turner, 24, an undergraduate sociology major from New Jersey who is a prime mover of the black students at IU. The "elder statesman" of that movement is Robert L. Johnson, 29, a slight, soft-spoken doctoral candidate in education. Johnson was born in Indiana, grew up in Chicago and went to Franklin College of Indiana. He came to IU in 1966, earned an M.A. in sociology, and in 1967 helped to organize the Afro-Afro-American Student Association.

"Our organization was seen as a threat from the beginning," he recalls, "but our concerns have always been academic and local; we have no ties with any outside groups. The Afro-American studies program has been our major demand all along. What we want is a systematized, definitive treatment of all racial issues, combining a social-science-oriented academic program with applied science."

Johnson envisions the black studies program as an interdisciplinary effort involving several of the university's schools and departments. He says it will be open to whites as well as blacks, "but it should have as many black instructors as possible, although the door won't be closed to whites. It's perspective and perception we're interested in. It has to be practical and humanitarian, stimulating a lot of black involvement, and it will have to break the credentials cycle, the Ph.D. hangup. This won't be the academic major for all black students—we need all the doctors and lawyers and scientists we can get—but it should help them and the university to keep their attention on the kinds of commitment to the past and the future that we have to have. This is a new option, and it could make it possible for us to turn the corner—blacks and whites too."

Johnson characterizes black students at Indiana in four general groupings: "There is a faction that wants out, and always has. Another group sees the reality of creating a separate society. The third group sees real integration as something close enough to be pushing for, and the rest want assimilation. We can't afford to quarrel with each other. We have to see the things we share, the common goals, and we have to work on these. We have to be stable, but not rigid; the stability of individuals is what makes organizations viable."

Personal interaction between black students and white radical students at IU is "pretty good," Johnson says, "but ideologically there's a big gulf. Radical politics in this country has never gotten to the nub of racism. Students in SDS give us some support, but we are seldom together on issues. And we're creative, disciplined and effective; they're not. I've heard it said that the white student revolution is the only revolution in history that has been based on hatred of the people, and that may be pretty close to the truth. The way I see it, if everyone but me is wrong, it won't be much of a revolution."

Race has been IU's crucible for over a year now, and Bob Johnson has been in the midst of it. He is different things to different people—a radical, a revolutionary, a militant, a moderate. He is also a confident and self-assured man who wants equity and parity for black people in a multiracial, multicultural society, and he is both critical of the university and hopeful about its future:

"The university has made some rhetorical commitments to black people, and it has some things going on—in a disorganized, chaotic and uncoordinated way. It can do a lot more. We want someone high in the administration who can formalize and co-ordinate all this, someone with the power and the clout to pull it all together. There are some good things to build on. In spite of the tensions—or maybe because of them—there has been a marked increase in interracial contact on this campus in the past year: meetings with the administration, committees, campus groups, student government, the newspaper, religious groups, even the Greeks have moved a little. Informal, interpersonal relationships · also have increased. It's a healthier, more open atmosphere than before. The trouble comes from the non-participants, those who are critical but uninvolved, who can't prove their assertions. The more disengaged people are, the more anguish and pessimism they feel. I'm in a lot of agony, but I'm happy and hopeful. I've been in this fight since 1960, and I have a lot more good will now than I ever did—I'm more positive. When you get involved, you meet a growing number of people who have faith, and operate existentially off of that."

There has been an articulate black voice in the faculty at IU which has effectively complemented and strengthened the student leadership of Bob Johnson and Rollo Turner. One of the principal faculty figures is Dr. Orlando Taylor, an assistant professor of speech and chairman of the Joint Committee on Discriminatory Practices. Under him—and with no staff and no budget—the committee has been a hearing board for grievances and has also "invested in institutional reform," taking the initiative to discover and remove discriminatory practices. Taylor says the IU faculty includes "some men of good will, some who are moved by fear and moral guilt, and some who are racially illiterate and unsophisticated." Black students and faculty, he says, "are trying to get substantive change and to avoid chaos. We have to show whites that it is to their advantage to move. We don't want separatism —we want change. The channels are open now, and we're talking a lot, but we're behind on substantive programs."

One of those channels leads to President Joseph Sutton. A political scientist, Sutton has been in IU's faculty and administration for 15 years. He has assumed the presidency at a time when race is just one of the university's urgent preoccupations; other manifestations of student power are also causing friction, a comprehensive reorganization of the institutional structure is in progress, and the legislature is in a niggardly mood, under the whiplash of a taxpayer's "revolt." It is also a time of considerable ferment in higher education generally, and Sutton talked about that in his first speech as president. He told a group of Indiana press executives that since World War II and the subsequent rise of science and technology, universities have been called upon to provide personnel, advice, ideas and solutions to immediate problems. Almost every segment of society now places requirements and demands upon the universities, he said, and as a result, "higher education is no longer isolated. It is a part of the mainstream of every aspect of society and is a part of the life pattern of every person in the country."

President Sutton believes the new face of higher education is here to stay. In a question-and-answer session after his speech, he defended students as "a lot more mature than I was when I was 18," and said he was "not worried about students and student conduct." He said, "they are not going to go back to the good old days . . . whether you want them to or not." He said "universities have to reflect" the changing values of society "or else they're not doing their job." And when he was asked whether "there have been too many concessions made to the minority groups on the campus," he replied:

> No, I don't know of any concessions that we have made here. . . . But it's time for us to do something about the race question. Universities ought to lead the way. If there is any aspect of racial discrimination in a university community, it has to be obliterated and it has to be obliterated now. You can't go to a black student and say we're going to take care of this problem tomorrow or ten years from now. The problem should never have existed in the first place. If these are concessions, then they are needed concessions. . . . I think we've had to change our relationship with the students. That's been a good thing. Students ought to participate in the general life of the university. If a patient couldn't tell a doctor where it hurt, what would the doctor be able to do for him? If a student can't tell a professor what his curricular needs are, how will the professor know?

In an extension of his remarks about race and the university, Sutton said in a January conversation that "unless all levels of education make a special effort to raise underprivileged groups, the problems of poverty and the ghetto will get worse." He said positive discrimination in the form of financial and academic support and special opportunities is required for minorities and the poor, and of IU he said: "Our job is to clean our own house of discrimination—in the curriculum, in fraternities, in the student boy, in the faculty, wherever it exists. We have to set the example for the rest of the social structure. Full participation of blacks at parity is essential."

Evidence of this emphasis can be seen in a number of schools and colleges, where recruitment of black students and faculty, budgetary shuffles and curriculum changes have begun. In the School of Education, for example, there is now a human relations commission with a staff, a budget and six task forces at work on research and development programs, staff recruitment, curriculum revision, services to local school districts, student recruitment, and problems of student teaching and teacher placement—all aimed at changing the school's racial complexion. The high priority being given to minority problems by Dean David L. Clark has had a mixed reception in the faculty, but some of the ones who support him appear confident that a major change in emphasis is under way.

Another manifestation of change at IU is "Focus: Black America," a year-long, campus-wide series of lectures, performances, panels and exhibits "highlighting the many contributions being made by Black citizens to all phases of American society and investigating the causes and implications of inter-racial conflict in the United States." IU used this format successfully

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last year for a series called "Focus: The City." The planners of the Black America series want it to have "a permanent impact upon the structure of the university, the curricular offerings and extra-curricular activities of the students, and the research priorities of faculty and students alike." They also hope it will "contribute to the successful launching of the recently approved Program of Afro-American Studies," and lead to "the hiring of new Black faculty at Indiana and to making this university a more attractive institution for current and prospective Black students." Dr. J. Gus Liebenow, chairman of the African Studies Program, co-ordinates the planning of the series, and a large number of faculty and students have contributed to its development. About 50 different events make up the full schedule.

The African Studies Program, incidentally, has not been particularly attractive to black Americans; only six of them are among the 125 graduate students majoring in the program, and the faculty members, except for one visiting professor, are all white.

Indiana University's racial consciousness is so recent and so immediate that any assessment of it would be premature and lacking in perspective. Things are happening, and they elicit widely divergent responses. Some people say the university is in deep hot water; others believe it has passed the crisis. Some are worried about legislative and alumni reprisals, others say the faculty is resentful of the attention to racial problems, and still others fear a black rebellion. Some think it's all a temporary thing, others say it's permanent. On one point, however, there appears to be considerable agreement: to the satisfaction of some and the dismay of others, the IU administration is sensitive and responsible to the issues involving black students and faculty in the institution.

Aside from President Sutton, the man closest to the heat is Dr. John W. Snyder, acting chancellor of the Bloomington campus. Dr. Snyder was appointed to that post in January as a step in the reorganization plan that eventually will place each campus of the university under the administrative direction of a chancellor. He was formerly a vice president of the university and dean for undergraduate development, and has been a key figure in the administration's handling of racial problems. Snyder points to several factors which he sees as assets in IU's efforts to solve these problems, among them the Division of General and Technical Studies, the growing regional campuses, the flexibility in applying admission standards, and the "high risk" program which was started this year. He also sees some serious limitations:

"I am not as concerned about getting black students into the university as I am about the university's ability to develop and finance the academic supports to help insure their success. It takes far more than special admissions—it takes a personal touch, special handling, and a committed faculty. Economic realities limit us. Close to 50 per cent of the people in the depressed urban areas of the state are black, yet no more than 1 or 2 per cent of the black or white students from those areas come to IU. To bring 200 high-risk students in here every year for the next 10 years—and give all of them whatever special handling they require—would cost several million dollars, not to mention faculty investment of time and skill.

"We need to keep records by race, and to co-ordinate the total university effort in all these areas. We need to be working on urban problems. Universities are the major instrument of social change in our society, and always have been, in a way. We're preparing the leaders of the 1980's, but we don't have that long to solve racial and urban problems. Universities have to be learning how to use the future—planning new communities, dealing with congestion, preventing ghettos—that's social change. There is so much to do, and our responsibilities are great. I think we're making good progress at IU now. The next two years will be crucial ones for us."

On the day Snyder's appointment as acting chancellor was announced, the IU Faculty Council was considering a proposal from the Office of Afro-American Affairs. The proposal called for the appointment of a vice president for Afro-American affairs, under whose office the institute of black studies, a program of sensitivity training, the Joint Committee on Discriminatory Practices and the Office of Afro-American Affairs would be administered. A statement strongly endorsing the proposal was read by a representative of the IU chapter of the American Association of University Professors, and several others expressed their approval. Then, a motion was made to refer the plan to a faculty committee, and there followed a two-hour debate during which the council members were divided between those who wanted a decision and those who wanted a delay. No one spoke in direct oppostion to the proposal.

Bob Johnson and Rollo Turner, who were there to defend the proposal, told the council they were "not seeking a mandate for a group of words but support for a concept." Johnson added: "We're trying to gain recognition of the principle of cultural pluralism and break the bond of white conformity. This is a formal organization we're proposing, but we're open on the implementation of it. We just want this body to endorse and support the principle. It's not separatism—it's for you, too."

John Snyder reminded the faculty members that the plan would require sacrifices on their part. "It'll take more than the administration to do what needs to be done," he said. "It'll take faculty involvement—not just endorsement—so understand what's at stake, and don't vote for it unless you mean it." He then joined "the call for approval of the document in principle."

The motion to refer it to committee was finally withdrawn, and a substitute motion was offered endorsing "the scope, magnitude and direction" of the proposal and recommending that President Sutton appoint a committee of faculty, administrators and students to assist in its implementation. The motion passed with one abstention and no dissenting votes.

Sutton subsequently appointed an *ad hoc* committee of 11 persons—including Orlando Taylor, John Joyner, Robert Johnson and Rollo Turner—and in early March the committee's report was presented to the Faculty Council by Sutton. The committee recommended that a vice chancellor for Afro-American affairs be appointed at the Bloomington campus, and that he be the chief administrative officer for the Institute of Afro-American Studies and the Office of Afro-American Affairs. The committee also recommended that the Joint Committee on Discriminatory Practices be funded and staffed, and that it function as an all-university committee under the authority of the president. And finally, it was recommended that a formal program of sensitivity training be set up by the new Center for Human Relations, directed by Dr. Joyner.

President Sutton strongly endorsed the recommendations, and the Faculty Council then voted unanimously to approve them. IU is now searching for the new vice chancellor and for a director of the Institute for Afro-American Studies, who will serve on joint appointment to the vice chancellor's office and the College of Arts and Sciences, in which the academic program of the institute will be housed. ○

Postscript:

The University of Alabama: President Frank A. Rose has announced his resignation, effective at the end of the academic year, to enter private business. The university has formed a consortium with six other Alabama colleges—three white, three black—to stimulate student and faculty exchange and to facilitate co-operative programs in several areas, such as research, curriculum development, library resources and computer facilities. The Afro-American Association is pressing for recruitment of black athletes and black faculty, and is meeting with the administration on these issues.

Wayne State University: Conrad Mallett, director of the university's new program of city extension centers, has resigned to become housing commissioner for the city of Detroit. His replacement is Hartford Smith Jr., an assistant professor in the School of Social Work.

Rutgers University: A group of black students occupied a classroom building at the Newark campus for three days in February, while feverish negotiations took place between student representatives and the administration. A group of white students tried unsuccessfully to break into the barricaded building. A building was also taken over at the Camden campus. Both sit-ins ended without violence after agreements were reached on the student demands. At the campuses in New Brunswick, classes were halted for three days while racial and urban problems were explored in an almost continuous round of open meetings. In the aftermath of all these developments, there were demands for a legislative investigation and for the ouster of President Mason W. Gross, disputes between faculty and administrators flared into the open, the black students at Newark said they had been betrayed by the administration, and the faculty there voted to repudiate the settlement which had ended the original sitin. Newark remained a hot spot as calm returned slowly to the Camden and New Brunswick campuses.

Then, on March 14, the Rutgers Board of Governors voted unanimously to "establish a new and pioneering program by September, 1969, which initially will open college doors to educationally and economically disadvantaged graduates of the secondary schools in those communities where Rutgers has its primary locations and its most significant community obligations—Newark, New Brunswick and Camden." The university has asked the state legislature for funds to support this venture, which will permit an undetermined number of black, Puerto Rican and white students to enroll, but one member of the state senate said he would be "amazed" if the legislature provided such funds. The Board of Governors said if state funds are not provided, the university will finance the program from other sources. Estimates of the number of students who will take advantage of the modified "open-door" policy range from 300 to 1,000. President Gross said the new admissions policy would not affect the number of students admitted under regular procedures, and that the same standards required for a degree would continue to apply for all students.

As an alternative to a formal investigation of the disturbances at Rutgers, the legislature ordered the state's chancellor of higher education, Ralph A. Dungan, to conduct his own investigation. At the end of March, Dungan reported his conclusion that "all levels of the university faculty and administration bear responsibility for procrastination and for failing to give adequate attention to the need to respond in some manner to the students' demands." The black students, he said, "had cause to be frustrated." Dungan added that communication between the faculty and students was generally "weak, unsatisfactory and unresponsive at almost every level," that past efforts to recruit Negroes have been "something less than dramatic," and that the faculty at the Newark College of Arts and Sciences, in particular, "demonstrated little sensitivity" to the needs of black students. Dungan recommended that the Newark campus be separated from Rutgers and reconstituted as an independent state university.

Indiana University: On March 28, the university's Board of Trustees approved the program under which the vice chancellor for Afro-American affairs and the Institute for Afro-American Studies will be developed, and candidates are being interviewed for the vice chancellorship and the directorship of the institute. Funding of the university's comprehensive program for black Americans is threatened by a $1.2 million reduction in the operating budget. The university will offset the reduction, which was imposed by the Indiana legislature, by raising tuition, and the entire program to address the needs of black Americans will be implemented as planned, according to administration sources.

University of California at Los Angeles: The university's new Institute for the Study of American Cultures, which will include Afro-American, Mexican-American, Oriental-American and American Indian studies programs, is in the advanced planning stage, and a director has been named for the Afro-American Study Center. He is Robert Singleton, a member of the faculty in UCLA's Graduate School of Business Administration. Recruitment of minority faculty members is in progress under the direction of Vice Chancellor Charles Z. Wilson. The university's Academic Senate has set up a permanent committee on equal opportunity to bring the faculty formally into the entire range of recruitment and curricular programs already under way.

SUMMING UP:

The Black Factor

The statistics in this report show how small the percentage of black Americans is in the major state universities and land-grant colleges; the case studies indicate that their influence is far greater than their numbers would suggest. There is a widespread assumption, sometimes fed by press accounts of campus disorders, that a massive wave of black students is having a malevolent and destructive effect on higher education. That assumption is not borne out by this study. It is apparently wrong on two counts: the "wave" is more like a ripple, and the effect, though often unsettling, is more salutary than sinister. To be sure, there have been excesses of word and deed by black students, just as there have been excesses of reaction by white authorities. But in the complex and intertwined phenomena of youthful assertion, black militancy, white radicalism and institutional convulsion, the black presence in higher education is seen by most of the university officials interviewed for this report as necessary, long overdue, and beneficial to the future health and effectiveness of higher education.

That the black presence is long overdue—and still disproportionately small—can hardly be debated. In the 80 predominantly white state universities in this survey, less than two of every 100 students, one of every 100 graduates, and one of every 100 faculty members are American Negroes. Over 11 per cent of the nation's population is black, yet none of the 80 institutions has that high a percentage of black students. There is little reason to believe that the ratio of Negroes is much higher in the public and private colleges and universities which were not included in this survey. (Fewer than 11 percent of each year's high school graduates are black—a fact which shows that equality of opportunity is not a problem of higher education alone.) Last year, there were more foreign students than American Negroes in our colleges and universities. The institutions which once were exclusively for Negroes still enroll a majority of the nation's black college students—and some of them, particularly in the states bordering on the South, are also far more desegregated now than almost any traditionally white college or university.

Two national trends over the past 30 years help to explain the new sense of urgency and importance surrounding the issue of higher education for black Americans. The first is a population trend. In 1940, almost 70 per cent of the nation's Negro citizens lived in the South; today, more than half of them live outside the South. This dramatic shift has put to rest the notion that racial discrimination is primarily a Southern problem. The second important trend has been the rise of what Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, in *The Academic Revolution*, call "meritocracy," a system in which rewards are based on socially defined, measured and certified merit and accomplishment. The critical reason for the existence of the American college, they say, "may not be education but certification." The college diploma has become a virtual union card; for both social and economic reasons, it is considered almost an essential prerequisite for the kinds of employment, affluence, status, latitude and independence that are commonly subsumed under the designation, "middle class," or "upper middle class."

But admittance to apprenticeship in the academic union has been sharply restricted for Negroes. One reason has been overt discrimination. Two other causes, more subtle but equally effective, have been rising costs and rising standards—the latter measured in terms of high school grades and standardized aptitude-test scores. In 1940, about one high school graduate in every six entered college; now, almost half of all high school graduates pursue some sort of post-high-school education. Jencks and Riesman point out, however, that this increase has come mostly from the upper socio-economic classes, not from the lower classes. Numerically, Negroes and other minorities have gained ground; proportionately, they have slipped further behind.

From elementary school on, the meritocratic system tests, measures, grades and culls, to the progressive advantage of affluent whites. For over 100 years, colleges and universities created for Negroes have assumed the lion's share of responsibility for the higher education of black Americans, and they have done an admirable job under the most difficult circumstances. Doubtless few educators still believe that the Negro colleges alone can and should meet all the higher education needs of Negro citizens, but until very recently, most white colleges and universities operated on that assumption. The opportunities white institutions have afforded to Negroes to become doctors, lawyers, scientists, engineers and professors—not to mention baccalaureate degree holders—have been miniscule. For white academicians to espouse the ideals of equity for black Americans under these circumstances is dismissed by many blacks as a hollow mockery, and correctly so. They can point out that higher education is a vital key to employment opportunity and economic independence, and the white colleges and universities have not provided them access to that key.

In the past two or three years, many institutions of higher learning have begun to increase educational opportunities for black Americans. The statistics in this report indicate that almost half of the Negroes in predominantly white state universities this year are freshmen. "High risk" and Upward Bound programs and a variety of financial aid packages are making college more accessible to Negroes, and recruitment of students and faculty has been greatly increased. But there are serious problems.

There is, to begin with, the problem of money. It is unnecessary to say more about this than the obvious: education is costly, state and private money to support the black and the poor is not sufficient to meet the need, and federal student-aid funds have apparently reached a premature plateau. On top of that, inflation, the 10 per cent surcharge and other tax increases, the rapid growth and rising costs of higher education, and the battle noises emanating from the campus barricades have created a strong resistance movement and a fiscal crisis for many colleges and universities.

Another problem is the ironic consequence of increased desegregation on the Negro colleges. Since white institutions in the North first became concerned about their racial homogeneity, they have sought the most qualified black students and faculty, and that has meant a siphoning off of many able students and professors from the black colleges. The process is accelerating; white schools in all sections of the country now comb the black communities on recruiting forays, and for the present, at least, this has the effect of increasing rather than diminishing the educational burdens of many black institutions. Dr. Vincent Harding, chairman of the history department at Spelman College in Atlanta, says this "brain drain" may be "robbing the black communities of those painfully developed strengths which have grown there in spite of—sometimes because of—America's shameful treatment." Dr. Harding believes joint appointments and visiting professorships often could accomplish the same purpose, and would be less destructive of the black colleges. Harding is one of the most sought-after of black professors, but he says he would not consider taking a job in a white university to help fill its quota of black faculty, and he is "trying to convince as many black teachers as possible to teach in black institutions."

A further complication for the majority-white institutions is black separatism. This trend has not been examined in depth here, partly because the case studies presented no clear-cut instance where separate and autonomous programs or facilities were being demanded. The complex legal, strategic and philosophical dimensions of separatism are still not clearly defined.

One of the most serious problems accompanying increased desegregation in predominantly white colleges and universities could be called unpreparedness. Institutions which have reached beyond the "Super-blacks" with impeccable credentials to admit students whose background and prior preparation set them apart from regular students have often experienced a variety of difficulties. The unpreparedness of these students has frequently been noted in institutional studies and press reports. But the institutions, too, are often unprepared, not only to deal with the so-called "high-risk" students but with black students generally. "High risk" is a two-sided coin; the institutions take a risk on the students, but the reverse is also true, and the risk any black student takes when he enters a white-oriented institution is substantial. Universities, despite popular sentiment to the contrary, are conservative institutions; the process of change in them is sometimes glacially slow, and many of them have not yet demonstrated either the skill or the determination to educate students—whatever their race—who differ markedly from the middle-class white students they are accustomed to having.

In general, administrators and students in these institutions seem more committed to drastic changes to eliminate racial inequities than are the faculties. It was primarily people outside the faculties who began the first special admission and "high risk" programs a few years ago, and it was students who launched tutoring programs. Now, it is black students who push for recruitment of more blacks and for Afro-American studies, and they often are supported by white students and by administrators who seem to see the necessity and the rightness of such changes. It is faculties which show a reluctance to change the makeup of the student body, the content of the curriculum, or the prestige level of their own ranks. At all of the case-studied institutions in this survey, it was almost invariably administrators who spoke in favor of positive discrimination for Negroes to counterbalance past favoritism of whites, of universities as instruments of social change, and of the equalitarian principles embodied in the land-grant tradition. Faculty members, on the other hand, more often talked of strict nondiscrimination, merit, quality, and color-blindness. This is not to say that all faculty members are resistant to institutional change, or that all demands for change are sound, but simply that faculties seem to approach the issues of educational opportunity in more conventional ways than administrators—or students.

The unpreparedness of many institutions to move beyond token desegregation is also manifest in other ways. For one thing, the methods for matching the great variety of colleges and the equally diverse student population are not altogether satisfactory. Not every student or prospective student is equally suited for every college, and not every college is able to serve all these students equally well. But too many of them have selected their students in ways which discourage diversity and result in racial, social, economic, cultural and intellectual sameness.

Another indication of unpreparedness is the fact that most institutions do not keep records by race. Without such records, they are unable to tell how many black students they have, how well the students are doing academically, what areas of study they are pursuing, or any of the other things which measure and pinpoint progress and problems.

But in spite of the difficulties, desegregation is increasing, probably at a faster pace now than ever before. The competition for black students and professors is seen not only between black and white institutions but also among the white schools—and sometimes even within them. For the Negro seeking a graduate fellowship or a teaching post, it is a seller's market; he can often take his pick, and name his own price.

The adjustments demanded by increased desegregation affect black and white institutions and people of both races who study, teach and work in them. Any attempt to assess these changes is complicated by the phenomenon of student activism, radicalism and unrest which has become so common on the college scene. Scores of institutions have experienced disorders in this academic year alone, and in the eyes of many people, these incidents appear as strands in a conspiratorial web woven by black and white anarchists and revolutionaries. There is a common confusion between black and white activists, between moderate and revolutionary tactics, and between serious and contrived grievances. But some important distinctions can be made concerning these diverse incidents and the people who have been involved in them.

A perusal of major daily newspapers across the country indicates that well over 100 colleges and universities—including at least one-third of the 100 state universities and land-grant colleges—have had racial troubles in this academic year alone. A large number of others have experienced disorders not directly related to race. The race-related incidents have affected institutions large and small, prestigious and obscure, urban and rural, white and black, in all parts of the country. Harvard and Yale, Berkeley and Wisconsin, Chicago and Stanford, Virginia and Colorado, Alabama A&M and St. Cloud State, Philander Smith and San Francisco State, Bluefield State and the College of the Ozarks are a few random examples.

Grievances have ranged from gross underrepresentation of blacks in the institution to the lack of "soul food" in the cafeteria; demands have covered the spectrum from non-observance of Lincoln's birthday to the creation of autonomous black studies colleges; tactics have been as mild as the wearing of lapel buttons and as violent as arson and assault; reactions have included adamant rebuff, nervous capitulation and repressive counterviolence; consequences have been as temporary as probation and as permanent as death. The incidents are too diverse and varied to be classified in any understandable and definitive way. In some of them, blacks and whites have acted together; in others, there has been strict racial separation. In the confusion and unpredictability of these events, it is often difficult to tell who is serious, who is sinister, and who is merely putting us on.

But two conclusions are strongly suggested by the case studies in this report and by a careful reading of reports on campus disorders: black militants and radical whites in the institutions appear to have little in common, and the idea of a black monolith is a myth.

White radical students and militant black students are often considered allies in the campus rebellion, but it seems likely that they have more differences than similarities. Many people, black and white, interviewed during the course of this survey compared and contrasted the two groups. Whether generalizing or speaking of specific organizations, their assessments came to this: the white students of the New Left are mostly from the middle and upper socio-economic classes; they are individualistic and anti-capitalist, they reject the affluent society which has spawned them, they are moralistic and idealistic and intellectual, and they share a sense of collective guilt and outrage about the sins of the white society. The black militants, on the other hand, more often come from the lower socio-economic classes; they are less abstract and more practical, they are organized around a collective racial identity which is sometimes nationalist or even internationalist in nature, their goals are more direct and specific, and they do not so much reject the affluent society as they condemn the system which has excluded them from it. Paradoxically, the similarities between black and white radical organizations seem to be greatest among the most extreme groups—anarchy is not divisible along race lines.

But guerrilla warfare, violence as a chosen strategy and anarchy as an ideological principle are not the main characteristics of the contemporary campus scene, even though they are sometimes the most visible and sensational. Reform, rather than revolution, is the dominant style, and black Americans are a central catalytic force.

At all five of the universities visited for case studies, black students expressed wariness and skepticism—if not outright antagonism—for radical white student groups. They said the whites were trying to use the black students as pawns to advance their own interests, or that they had no serious commitment to the elimination of racial inequities. The white radicals, they said, were more interested in other issues—the war in Vietnam, the draft, drugs, sexual freedom—than in such bread-and-butter issues as the accessibility and relevance of universities to minorities and the poor.

The black Americans who are now so deeply involved in these issues of educational reform—the students, faculty members, administrators and community leaders—are richly varied in personality, philosophy and style. They are integrationists, separatists, nationalists, assimilationists and coexistence advocates; they are moderate and revolutionary, violent and nonviolent, devious and direct. In spite of the efforts of many blacks to present a united front against the larger white society—and in spite of the propensity of many whites to see all Negroes as an undifferentiated mass—the black Americans on the campus scene are no more unified on the issues of race in higher education than Catholics are on their church, or Democrats are on their party, or any other group is on any controversial matter. While they differ on priorities and tactics, however, they are united by the discrimination they have experienced because of their skin color, and they are determined that it be ended—quickly, fully and finally.

The black agitation for institutional reform is more than skin deep. Beneath the rhetoric, the "non-negotiable" demands and the mood of militancy, there is a fundamental soundness to the criticism of racial inequities, and most of the universities seem to acknowledge that. By a coincidence of history, the "new black man" has arrived on the higher education scene at a time when other more general reforms are in the wind, and these two causes have merged to reinforce each other. The black demands for entree, relevance, recognition and dignity thus coincide with other institutional ills which have long been festering: the neglect of undergraduate teaching, the equating of excellence and prestige with elitism and exclusiveness, the pursuit of research grants, the dominance of research and graduate studies, bureaucratic impersonality, the feudalism and fragmentation of academic departments, the arbitrariness of certification and credentialing systems, *in loco parentis*, high student attrition, the protection of incompetence by tenure and academic freedom, curricula which can sometimes be added to but seldom subtracted from and almost never reconstructed, ivory-tower detachment from the surrounding society, and so on. In a significant way, the black presence on many campuses has brought into focus the need for general institutional revitalization. As one administrator put it: "We may be able to look back on all this tumult 20 years from now and be able to say that the reform of American higher education was brought to a head by angry and anguished black people who were being rejected by an impersonal and immutable educational system."

In the meantime, though, it is the campus disorders that hold the public eye, and a backlash is evident in many quarters. Demonstrations on several campuses have been met by counterdemonstrations, bills have been introduced in a number of legislatures to curb protest, some institutions have been threatened with legislative investigations, others have been warned of retaliatory budget cuts unless they suppress disorder. Congress has passed laws aimed at punishing students who engage in disruptive acts, and hearings have been held on the causes of campus trouble. Radical measures, however justified, usually draw a reaction, and in the current tensions there have been both extreme acts and extreme responses. Up to the point of violence, however, black militancy appears to be succeeding where appeals to reason and conscience did not.

White administrators in the vortex of institutional change are under the stress of many conflicting forces. Some of them have tried to ignore those forces, others have clamped down hard on student unrest, some have capitulated to student demands in order to buy peace. Dr. Charles V. Hamilton of Roosevelt University—the author, with Stokely Carmichael, of *Black Power*—criticizes white administrators who "blindly give in to the demands of black students just to keep them quiet," thus creating "a new kind of paternalism" and "a new role—the black man's honky."

A large number of administrators, however, are responding to student voices—and to the black imperative—with seriousness, wisdom and clear insight. All of the universities visited in this study have such people in key positions.

At those same institutions, the black professors and administrators and the black students who are in leadership positions are exposed to intense cross-pressures. They face demands and expectations from every direction, and almost every action they take is sure to displease somebody. They are seriously overworked. They may also be as important to the racial and social renewal of their respective institutions as any other group of people. People like James McDonald at Rutgers, Charles Wilson and Mary Jane Hewitt at UCLA, Noah Brown at Wayne, John Joyner and Orlando Taylor at Indiana—to mention only a few—are probably more valuable to those institutions now than the institutions are necessary to them. The same can be said, in varying degrees, of students like Willie Rice at Alabama, Jerry Harris at Rutgers, Eddie Anderson at UCLA, Lonnie Peek at Wayne, and Bob Johnson at Indiana.

The black factor in higher education is growing, and it will continue to grow. Racial equality in American society is not the responsibility of higher education alone, and equality in higher education is not a job just for the state universities and land-grant colleges. But those institutions, because of their history, their traditions, their size and their positions as the leading public institutions in higher education, have a pivotal role to play in the process of racial change. They have come late—and sometimes ill-prepared—to face that responsibility.

CREDITS

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